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Suffragette War Again in England

The suffragettes in Great Britain are on the war-path again. They have resumed their campaign of attack upon members of the Government and of destruction directed against property, public and private. The contents of mail-boxes are destroyed by chemicals, shop windows are smashed, Cabinet officials are mobbed. Their grievances are that the legislative machinery of the United Kingdom is not brought to a standstill while their demands are granted, that the rules of decent and orderly Parliamentary procedure are not violated in their behalf, that upright and public-spirited men are unwilling blithely to cast aside their convictions at the dictates of a mob. The Government, at the present session of Parliament, had introduced a bill for the further reform of the franchise. The bill provides for the abolition of the system of plural voting by which one man may have several votes if he owns property in different constituencies, and for the extension of the suffrage to certain classes of citizens now excluded from it. This is one of the three great measures (the other two being the Home Rule Bill and the bill disestablishing the Church in Wales) which make up the Government's programme for the present session. The control of a British Cabinet over the time of a Parliamentary session and the measures to be considered is well-nigh absolute, so that a suffrage amendment could be brought in and considered only with the consent of the Cabinet. Now, the present Cabinet is divided on the subject of woman suffrage, the Prime Minister, for instance, being bitterly opposed to it, while the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Foreign Secretary as heartily favor it. Obviously, woman suffrage could not be made a Government measure. The best that could be obtained was an agreement by the Prime Minister and his associates that ample facilities would be given for the consideration of a suffrage amendment, and that the decision of the question would be left to the Commons itself without any party pressure being brought to bear upon the members either in favor of or against the provision.

The Vote, the Vote, Nothing but the Vote

At the proper time several amendments, granting the suffrage to women in varying degrees, were introduced. The principal one was brought in by Sir Edward Grey, the Foreign Secretary. Thereupon the Speaker ruled that the adoption of any one of these amendments would so change the character of the Franchise Bill as in effect to make it a new bill, which under the rules of the House would have to be withdrawn and reintroduced. Confronted with this ruling, the Prime Minister announced that, in view of the already crowded condition of the legislative programme, it would be manifestly impossible to adopt this procedure and pass the new bill through the necessary stages at the present session. The Government therefore was constrained to withdraw the Franchise Bill entirely. Mr. Asquith further declared that at the next session opportunity would be given by the Government for the introduction and untrammeled consideration of a private member's bill dealing with woman suffrage alone. This was a check to the suffrage movement apparently unforeseen by any one; but it was the kind of check which would have been accepted quietly by any political party, as an outcome of the indispensable rules for orderly Parliamentary procedure. But suffragettes are not like other folks. They are possessed of an *idée fixe*. The great business of carrying on the government of an empire is nothing; the orderly procedure necessary to Parliamentary legislation is nothing; the convictions of public men are nothing. They must have "the

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vote" and that immediately, at whatever cost. So the truce is broken, and the militant suffragettes take to the war-path again. As they go they utter vague and mysterious threats of new and graver outrages than they have committed in the past. Apparently they are prepared to consider but one thing sacred (though most of them probably intend to add to that one thing a second—human life), and that one thing is their slogan, "Votes for Women." Woman suffrage is a question to which there are two sides, either of which may be supported by upright and broad-minded men and women. But to the question of the use of sabotage, of the destruction of property public and private, of the terrorizing of a government and a people into granting the demand for "the vote"—there is but one side.

Home Rule for Scotland

An organization called the Scottish Home Rule Council has been formed for the purpose of carrying on propaganda work in favor of national self-government for Scotland. The members of the Council have been elected from the unofficial Scottish Liberal Members of Parliament, the Scottish Liberal Association, the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation, and the Young Scots Society. The latter society, made up of young men with strong radical tendencies, has been a powerful force in the propaganda of Liberal doctrines during the last three or four general elections. The movement for home rule in Scotland dates back to the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Even since the legislative union with England there has been a small band of loyal patriots who have looked forward to the day when a seat of government would be restored to Edinburgh. Many societies have had their existence with this object in view. After the union with England the neglect of Scottish national affairs was felt keenly, as was also the inconvenience of having local legislation conducted in London. The duties of Parliament were too multifarious, and, as English matters always got precedence, Scottish and Irish matters suffered accordingly. When the Scottish Reform Bill, giving greater representation to Scotland in the Imperial Parliament, was passed in 1832, conditions in Scotland were materially improved and the agitation for home rule subsided considerably. The first reform Parliament gave control of local affairs to burgh councils, and this met one of the most needed wants. But even with this increased Parliamentary representation, and with this degree of control over local affairs, when Gladstone, in 1885, espoused the cause of Ireland there were those who hoped that Scotland would be given a larger measure of home rule. Professor Blackie, who was Chairman of the Scottish Home Rule Association at this time, argued in essay and on the platform that for the thorough despatch of Scottish business it was necessary that that business be transacted in Edinburgh, not London; that as an independent kingdom, inheriting its own historic traditions, using its own laws, boasting its own Church, and marked by a distinctive type of character and culture, Scotland had a right to demand that her public questions should be considered seriously on Scottish ground. But the Gladstone bills for Ireland occupied too exclusively the public attention. Throughout the years, in school society, village forum, and university debating club, the question has been discussed, and there has never been lacking a concrete desire on the part of a considerable portion of the populace for home rule. The Council which has just been formed argues that home management for home matters is an obvious maxim of common sense; that separate nationalities are perfectly compatible with united sovereignty; that a federal constitution is the best suited for present conditions; and that, when growing interests of a widely expanded empire overtax the legislative or administrative organization at the seat of government, decentralization is the safest remedy for the congestion. What is demanded now, as for many years, is control by a Scottish Parliament over purely Scottish questions.

Adrianople and Rome

Last week the Balkan allies notified Turkey that the armistice interrupting the recent war would come to an end on February 3. The armistice began on December 3. Thus it has lasted exactly two months. The armistice has not been in vain, even if war should begin again. It brought out a clearer understanding on all sides of the situation in the Balkan Peninsula; and it had already led to certain decisions—as, for instance, regarding Albania—presumably not to be altered by any subsequent hostilities, decisions of far-reaching import and consequence. If the war begins again, it is expected to center about the fortress and

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city of Adrianople, still in Turkish hands after a long and stubbornly contested siege. As Adrianople has been considered the chief prize in this war, so it seems to have been the chief obstacle to peace. The allies demanded its cession, together with that of most of European Turkey. When Turkey, perforce, was brought to the point of parting with nearly all her territory in Europe, she resisted ceding Adrianople to Bulgaria. Finally, however, she was brought, little by little, to the offer to cede that part of the city lying on one side of the Maritza River, providing she were left in possession of that portion of the other side where are located the earliest Mohammedan mosques in Europe. So strong was this sentiment that the sudden change of Cabinet at Constantinople the other day was due, more than to anything else, to the news that "the guarding of Mohammedan interests at Adrianople," agreed upon by Turkey and the allies, did not, in terms, include the continued possession by the Turks of what to them is sacred territory. Thus the situation is like that between the Pope and the King of Italy in 1870. The Pope had been the temporal as well as the spiritual sovereign of Rome. Certain places, especially the Vatican and St. John Lateran, were peculiarly sacred to all Roman Catholics. For, while the Adrianople mosques date back to 1361 (when the Turks made the town, founded by Hadrian, their European capital), the Lateran and the Vatican foundations date back to Constantine the Great, who died in 337. Now, forty-three years ago, the Italians were more than ever determined to regain Rome as the capital of united Italy. But Italy is Roman Catholic, hence an arrangement was reached by which the Italian Government forever guaranteed the possession of the Vatican and the Lateran to the head of the Roman Catholic Church, thus securing to those precincts the privilege of ex-territoriality, or exemption from the operation of the laws enforced in the territory about them. If some such arrangement at Adrianople is the only thing to prevent a re-beginning of war, it might well be made.

The Opportunity of the Powers

But the Adrianople question is not the only one to be solved before peace terms are made. There is another and a possibly thornier problem—the islands of the Ægean Sea. When Turkey finally gave way to the allies, she did so on two conditions: first, that the holy places in Adrianople should remain under her control; second, that in the disposition of the Ægean Islands the allies should give way to the will of the six great Powers—England, France, Russia, Germany, Austria, Italy—always provided that those Powers should have due regard to two facts, namely, that the islands nearest the Dardanelles Strait, leading to Constantinople, are indispensable to that capital's defense, while the other islands, forming, so it is claimed, "an integral part of Asia Minor," are no less indispensable to Turkey's Asiatic possessions. Nevertheless, it would now seem but poetic justice if the Ægean Islands, many of them at a very considerable distance from Asia Minor, islands all of them Greek in origin and now in population and religion overwhelmingly Greek, should revert to their original ownership. But no one expects that the functions of the Powers will be confined to the question of the islands. To the Powers rather than to the allies may be due the real delimitation of future frontiers in the Balkan Peninsula. Thus, as in 1878, after the Russo-Turkish War, the Powers again have a wonderful opportunity to arrange conflicting territorial claims so that the settlement shall not contain the seeds of future enmities. Let us hope that the Powers will succeed better than they did a generation ago. If leadership counts for anything, one may take heart. To be sure, a generation ago some political giants managed the settlement—Bismarck, Beaconsfield, Salisbury, Gortchakoff, Andrássy. But, though they may not be "giants," there seems a finer moral ring about the names of the men who, whether at home or in conclave at London, have been acting as a kind of Council of Elder Statesmen in the Balkan affair—Sir Edward Grey, M. Poincaré, M. Paul Cambon, Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg, Prince Lichnowsky, the Marquis di San Giuliano, and the others. Theirs is indeed a great opportunity. It should redound to the best interests of civilization.

Constantinople

Within a year the city of Constantinople has experienced the shock of two wars, one earthquake, two cholera epidemics, with smallpox hovering near, the narrow escape of civil war, and finally a revolutionary plot to overthrow the Government. With such conditions it would

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not be surprising if Constantinople had become what a well-known newspaper correspondent recently described it, an "inferno." But it has not been an inferno. Even the arrival of the Kurds—that wild, roving Asiatic tribe—and their suggestion to the Government that they were ready to help in any contemplated massacre, did not disturb the surface very much. It is true, however, that the Government has had to close its theological schools in order to prevent the priests from inflaming the minds of the students by preaching a holy war to them. It is true that there have been the sad spectacle of cholera and the equally pitiful spectacle of thousands of destitute refugees; for the latter, the Government has obliged many owners to give up their vacant buildings for the temporary housing of these unfortunates. The most remarkable evidences of order have apparently been at the American educational institutions. The American College for Girls, whose sessions are proceeding as usual, was transferred from the Asiatic side to the European side; but not, as at first reported, to a foreign war-ship. At Robert College, according to recent reports, not a recitation had been lost. The college work, church services, gymnastics, and games have proceeded as usual. This is the more remarkable when one considers the large number of Bulgarian students in the institution. Some of them, it is true, have been summoned back to join the army. But there is hardly a Bulgarian student remaining in Robert College who has not had some relative on the battlefield. It is surprising to read that on the faculty of Robert College are Turkish teachers who have both Bulgarians and Greeks in their classes.

The Subway Situation

To the ordinary citizen of New York City who has to go to and fro between the place where he sleeps and the place where he works, the discussion, rumors, gossip, press reports, surmises, and wordy warfare over the "subway contracts" are mystifying and exasperating. What he wants is a chance to make his twice-daily trip in a reasonable time and with some degree of comfort; and he knows very well that, whatever his route may be, especially if it is one that runs north and south in the elongated city or carries him between Manhattan Island and Brooklyn, it is more uncomfortable and more subject to delay than it would be if the subways which have been planned and projected were in existence and operation to-day. He learns from the newspapers that there are several contracts which have been drawn up between certain corporations and the city; and he is under the impression that if those contracts could be signed there would be at least some prospect of relief. He has no special liking for the corporations that are now operating the rapid transit lines of the city. He has no fault to find with the concern that will carry him, if he wishes, to New Jersey through the tubes under the Hudson, but his prejudices, if not his experiences, have not made him especially friendly to the other public utility companies. And it is these other public utility companies that are involved in these proposed contracts. The question over which there is such hue and cry is whether these contracts are fair to the city, and if not, whether, in spite of unfairness, they should be accepted by the city in view of the great need of some kind of new transit lines. The controversy has involved the Public Service Commission, which is the administrative board in charge of the public utilities of New York City; it has involved the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, which holds New York City's purse-strings; and it has now involved the new Governor, Mr. Sulzer, because he is the one who has the right to appoint new members of the Public Service Commission. The real controversy concerns the question, Who shall operate the new subways and on what terms shall they operate them? It is not a controversy primarily about the building of subways. New subways are already in construction, and the work of construction is going on all the time. The construction of a part of this new subway system is dependent upon the decision as to its operation, but this discussion over the operation is not holding up the construction of the whole system. There is much impatience shown over the delay supposed to be occasioned by this discussion, but, as a matter of fact, so far there has been no serious delay in the building of the subways themselves. Naturally, for the private operation of a great system of subways like this a great deal of capital is required. There are not many groups of financiers who can undertake the financial burden involved in the use of such a large amount of capital, and naturally those financiers who are already interested in the oper-

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ation of the present rapid transit lines have a distinct advantage. Thus it happens that the city has not much choice as to those with whom it should deal. If there were many groups of capitalists eager to operate the subway, the city would have an advantage. Under the present circumstances it is at a disadvantage.

The Present Question

Thus the question has finally resolved itself into this: Shall the city make the best terms it can for the operation of the new lines with those financiers who are interested in the operation of the present lines, or shall it decide to assume whatever advantage and whatever risk there is in operating these new lines itself? Nobody regards the contracts under discussion as ideal, but most regard them as about as satisfactory as can be arranged in view of the circumstances. There are these two distinct policies: First, a policy of private operation on terms which are not wholly satisfactory but which will relieve the city of the burden of municipal operation; second, a policy of municipal operation—that is, the operation of the subway by the city itself, without the intervention of private capitalists or corporations. It must be added that if the policy of municipal operation is adopted, it can be applied only to the new subways. In case the present contract for private operation is completed, there would be for the city one subway system with one uniform fare of five cents; in case it is rejected and municipal operation is adopted, there would be two lines with two fares. But to a large extent they would be competing lines; and while probably the number of persons who would be required to pay two fares to reach their destination would be considerable, it would be small in proportion to the whole number carried. It must also be added that under this contract the corporations raise nearly one-half the needed capital, the city the other half; if this contract is set aside, the city would have to raise the whole capital or build a less complete system. The question whether the proposed contract is advantageous for the city is one to be determined by experts for the city, not by the city in a popular vote. The question whether under the present circumstances private operation of one dual subway system, or municipal operation of one system and private operation of the other, would be better for the city, might perhaps have been left to be decided by a referendum. But the whole question how a municipally owned subway should be planned and constructed, and when constructed should be operated, was left nearly four years ago, without instructions, to two bodies, one representing the State, the other the city. No question is raised as to the honesty and ability of either body. They have spent over two years of arduous, painstaking, public-spirited labor upon the problem. To set aside by a popular vote or by a Governor's appointment the result which they have reached, and begin the work over again, is not the way to encourage men of honesty and ability to put themselves at the service of the city. The Outlook believes that their decision should be accepted, and the city, released from this perplexing and long-delayed problem, should set itself to the solution of some other municipal problems hardly less important and hardly less pressing.

The New Jersey Anti-Trust Bills

The eight bills dealing with the control of corporations lately introduced in the New Jersey Senate with the approval of Governor Wilson and through his initiative are of National interest for more reasons than one. It is in New Jersey and under New Jersey laws that the most prominent and most highly capitalized holding "combines," popularly known as trusts, are incorporated. A list of these nominally New Jersey but really National trusts would fill columns. Again, one naturally turns to these bills to judge of the practical application that our next President may make of his principles and theories, because the same application may be expected in his future recommendations for National legislation. Finally, the introduction of these bills is taken by some commentators as Governor Wilson's reply to a criticism urged against him in the campaign for the Presidency, to the effect that, while he called urgently for State action on trusts, he had not as Governor done anything of importance to secure such action in what has been called "the most trust-ridden State in the Union." In his last annual message Governor Wilson forecast the introduction of these bills when he said, "The laws of New Jersey as they stand, so far from checking monopoly, actually encourage it." He then pointed out that State statutes explicitly licensed the existence of holding companies,

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and he declared that New Jersey should have official supervision of incorporation, and should also provide "salutary checks upon unwarranted and fictitious increases of capital and the issuance of securities not based upon actual bona fide valuations." Everything that Governor Wilson can do before he becomes President to hasten the progress of these bills he undoubtedly will do; and although they will probably encounter bitter opposition and be in danger from stifling amendments, hopes are expressed by their supporters that the present session of the Legislature will accomplish something worth while in this direction.

What the Bills Provide

The eight bills thus introduced are not in their application retroactive, nor would they bring about the dissolution of existing holding companies because their original formation was contrary to public interest as creating monopolies or as bringing about restraint of trade. In this they differ from the National Anti-Trust Law, and for that reason have called out a counter-proposal from Senator Pierce (Republican) that the Sherman Anti-Trust Law provisions should be applied to State corporations. The bills would, however, for the future, punish by fine and imprisonment those who attempt to form a corporation "intended to be used in restraint of trade or acquiring a monopoly." It will be noticed that the penalty here is personal—against men, not against corporations. This is the feature of Governor Wilson's whole programme on which he lays most stress; in his very first law the emphasis is laid on personal guilt by declaring that illegal acts by an incorporated company shall be treated *also* as the illegal acts of the individual directors of the corporation; so that the penalty for misdemeanor, stated in the act as against offending "corporations, firms, or persons," becomes intelligible, which it would hardly otherwise be. Offenses forbidden are: limiting production or increasing prices; preventing competition in manufacturing, transporting, or selling a commodity; "fixing prices" so as to control the amounts paid by the consumers and public; preventing, by agreement, unrestricted competition, or even making secret oral agreements to bring about restriction of competition. The first act defines a trust as a corporation, firm, or person which does any of the things forbidden by these acts. Among other provisions of the bills are those forbidding corporations from issuing stock on fictitious values of property and requiring "a fair, bona fide valuation;" repealing as to the future the present laws authorizing holding companies; forbidding for the future merged companies from acquiring stock of other companies; forbidding corporations to discriminate in prices as between different communities, except as made proper by cost of transportation and similar charges; and requiring that, in order to merge legally, corporations must obtain the consent of the Public Utility Commission. Finally, the eighth bill establishes elaborate directions for the regulation and supervision of investment companies, under the authority of the Commissioner of Banking and Insurance, with heavy penalties both of fine and imprisonment for fraud or violation of the requirements of the act. The provisions in regard to fixing prices and requiring uniform prices are considered one of the strongest and most effective features of the combined legislation embodied in these bills. Provisions other than as here noted are generally similar to those of many other States which have anti-monopoly laws. In time, it is hoped by Governor Wilson and his supporters, the bills will relieve New Jersey of the charge of being a center of operations for objectionable trusts. But, even if similar legislation should be adopted by the other States which are without such laws, it is perfectly obvious that the total result will be to increase rather than to lessen the need for just the right form of National Governmental control. All good citizens will sympathize with this attempt to deal with recognized evils, but it should be pointed out that the underlying method is not regulative but punitive.

Mr. Wilson and the Social Workers

Acting on the ancient and wise maxim which King Ahab quoted to King Ben-hadad, "Let not him that girdeth on his harness boast himself as he that putteth it off," President-elect Wilson has not been telling the country definitely what he is going to do as President; but he has let the country see in what direction his general purposes are moving and with what sort of policies he is sympathetic. It is useless to speculate about the particular and specific acts and methods of the coming President, although newspapers continue to do so in

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spite of the fact that they come to conflicting conclusions about them; but it is both right and useful to note the direction in which Mr. Wilson is moving. It is evident that he wishes the country to do so. For that reason it is very well worth while to notice that last week Mr. Wilson had a conference with a number of social workers—men and women engaged in work that deals with social and industrial conditions. Among them were representatives of the Child Labor Committee, of the Consumers' League, of the Committee on Industrial Relations, of organized work against tuberculosis, and of settlement work. Mr. Wilson expressed his interest and his enthusiasm concerning each of the subjects which were mentioned in the course of the conference, including not only those suggested in the names of the organizations mentioned, but such subjects as women's labor, contract prison labor, immigration, National health, workmen's compensation, the Industrial Relations Commission, and Washington as a model city. Naturally, and, as we believe, wisely, Mr. Wilson did not undertake to specify in what respect he was interested in the several subjects. The only two instances in which his expression of interest may be said to have approached the specific was, first, that in which, speaking of child labor legislation, he warned his hearers that some of the elements of his party represent a very strong States' rights feeling; and, second, that in which, speaking with reference to a suggestion by Dr. A. J. McKelway that the city of Washington is managed in the interest of financial and real estate groups, Mr. Wilson said: "Dr. McKelway excited me because he put under my nose a fresh trail and the kind of trail which I always follow with zest." The country will welcome, we are sure, what amounts to an announcement by the President-to-be that he has his mind not merely on the great abstract problems of government, which, of course, must demand his attention, but also upon government in its more directly human relations.

The Bureau of Social Hygiene

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has earned the gratitude of all decent citizens, whether or not they have, like all fathers and mothers, a personal stake in the future of the country. With modesty, but with unusual efficiency and enterprise, he has undertaken the establishment of a permanent organization to take up, on a world-wide scale, the question of what is known as the social evil. It is not merely Mr. Rockefeller's idea that this body should study the white slave traffic, although that must inevitably be an important element in the matter, but that it should take up the whole question of prostitution and the conditions responsible for it. Indeed, quite unknown to most people, and even to the newspapers, there has been, as a result of Mr. Rockefeller's initiative, an organization in existence for two years. It is known as the Bureau of Social Hygiene. Its present members are Miss Katharine Bement Davis, Superintendent of the New York State Reformatory for Women at Bedford Hills, New York; Paul M. Warburg, of the firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co.; Starr J. Murphy, of the New York Bar; and John D. Rockefeller, Jr. This organization is the consequence of Mr. Rockefeller's own experience in the investigation of the white slave traffic. In the first half of the year 1910 Mr. Rockefeller was drafted to act on a special Grand Jury, and was made chairman of it. The examination by that Grand Jury brought to public notice a condition of affairs which was not generally known, and where generally known was not talked about. There is no fouler trade imaginable than that which profits by the moral perversion of young women. It is so foul that its very existence is taboo as a matter of conversation. It is about this trade that that Grand Jury brought to public attention certain facts. In a statement which Mr. Rockefeller made last week it is now made known that "the foreman of that body"—that is, of course, Mr. Rockefeller himself—made a special study of the nature of the work that should be done by such a commission as that which the Grand Jury had recommended for the investigation of the evil. Because a public commission would be necessarily short-lived and would suffer other disadvantages, the conclusion he reached was that a permanent organization should be created. And, as we have pointed out, he promptly went about to start such an organization himself. "The forces of evil," says Mr. Rockefeller in this statement, "are never greatly alarmed at the organization of investigating or reform bodies, for they know that they are generally composed of busy people, who cannot turn aside from their own affairs for any great length of time to carry on reforms, and that sooner or later their efforts will cease, and the

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patient denizens of the underworld and their exploiters can then reappear and continue the traffic as formerly." With a permanent private bureau devoted to this subject there is reason for believing that something permanent can be done. There has already been established a laboratory of social hygiene adjacent to the Reformatory of which Miss Davis is Superintendent, where the physical, social, and moral side of each person committed to the Reformatory can be studied. There has also been carried on under the direction of Mr. George J. Kneeland, who directed the investigation of the Chicago Vice Commission, a thorough and comprehensive survey of the conditions of vice in New York. Still further, under the direction of Mr. Abraham Flexner, the author of the well-known report on medical education in this country, there has been a searching inquiry into the conditions of vice in Europe. Other surveys will be made in other cities. It is evident that there is now a chance for the first time of obtaining general and accurate information on the subject, for the lack of which attempts in the past to deal with this evil have been for the most part either sporadic, restricted, or ineffective. On the question of the control and suppression of this evil we speak in more detail on another page.

The Last Phase of the Sugar Fraud Cases

The United States Supreme Court has affirmed the conviction of Charles R. Heike for participation in the sugar-weighing frauds perpetrated by the Sugar Trust. This is the final phase of a case which began seven years ago—in the administration of President Roosevelt. Complete accounts were published in The Outlook of the original case (in an article entitled "The Case of the Seventeen Holes," printed in The Outlook for May 1, 1909), in which the American Sugar Refining Company was convicted of the frauds, and of the later cases (in an article entitled "The Men Higher Up," printed in The Outlook for August 6, 1910), in which several subordinates and two officers of the Company, including Heike, were convicted of participation in the frauds. It will be remembered that the frauds were committed on the docks of the refinery in Brooklyn where imported sugars are weighed for the computation of the duty. By the use of secret springs introduced into the mechanism of the scales and manipulated by employees of the Sugar Company, the weights on which duty was paid were made smaller than the actual weight of the sugar involved. As a result of the discovery of the springs and of the successful prosecution which followed, over four million dollars was recovered to the Government from the Sugar Trust. At the third trial (of the men "higher up") it was shown that Heike, who was the Secretary of the Sugar Company, was the point of contact between the refinery docks where the springs were manipulated and the general offices of the Company where the fruits of the manipulation were reaped. Heike was convicted of conspiracy to defraud the Government and sentenced to pay a fine of $5,000 and spend eight months in prison. The case was appealed on the ground that Heike, by his testimony before a Federal Grand Jury investigating violations of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, had earned immunity from prosecution. In due course the case reached the Supreme Court, where the conviction has now been affirmed. The decision is a gratifying climax to this series of successful steps in the punishment of corporate greed and wrong-doing. It affords also another instance of the recent tendency of the Supreme Court not to make the Constitutional protection against self-incrimination and the immunity statutes an inviting shelter to crime. The Court squarely holds that neither the Constitutional provision nor the immunity statutes protect the individual from the disclosure of corporate information or the production of corporate data. Speaking broadly, one may say that the Supreme Court has now laid down the proposition that corporate books are public property. There is an element of pathos in the case, in the fact that Heike is an old man, now suffering from serious heart trouble, and that he has already been severely punished by the loss of position and reputation. His case is a striking example of how easy it is for a man in modern corporate organization to drift into wrong-doing. A man in Heike's position is insulated from the actual details of crime by intervening subordinates, and presumably relieved from the burden of direct responsibility by intimations if not direct orders from "higher up." But the social damage wrought by his acts is not less serious because he does not commit the crime with his own hand, or because he may not have been the originator of the wrong-

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doing or have reaped any considerable share of its proceeds.

The Resignation of Louis Glavis

As many of the readers of The Outlook will remember, Louis R. Glavis, who was instrumental in bringing about the Pinchot-Ballinger investigation, and in consequence of his remonstrance against the acts of Secretary Ballinger lost his position in the Federal service, has been serving as Secretary of the Conservation and Water Power Commissions of the State of California. His service in that office was referred to in an article in The Outlook published a few months ago. As a consequence of the disapproval by Governor Johnson, of California, of certain of his acts while in that office, Mr. Glavis has resigned. In brief, Mr. Glavis undertook to act in the interest of certain lumber companies in land transactions in which the State, whose servant he was, was involved. The State of California had sold certain lands to private concerns, among them these lumber companies, but the purchasers of the lands had not been able to obtain their patents because the Federal Government had not listed these lands to the State. It is true that the State had parted with title to the lands, and so was not immediately involved, except as it was necessary for the Federal Government to list these lands to the State before the patent could be obtained; but the State was still in negotiation with the Secretary of the Interior through its Attorney-General and Surveyor-General. Mr. Glavis offered his services to certain of these lumber companies to secure the listing of the lands which they had purchased. The desire of the lumber companies, as it appears from such account as we have, seems to have been perfectly legitimate, and their success would in no wise have brought an injury to the State. Nevertheless, inasmuch as the State had undertaken to have these lands listed, it is very regrettable that Mr. Glavis, while in the service of the State, should have offered for a price to use his influence to secure the preferential listings of these rich and powerful concerns. While, therefore, there is no charge that Secretary Glavis did anything illegal or corrupt or injurious to the State, which he has served with efficiency and public spirit, it is hard to understand how he could have allowed himself to be put into a position that would so inevitably subject him to criticism and suspicion. It is all the more difficult to understand this since one of the reasons for his suspicion that Secretary Ballinger was not acting in the interest of the people, whose servant he was, rested upon the fact that Mr. Ballinger had used his prestige as former Land Commissioner while acting as attorney for private interests in their dealings with the Government. In communicating to the Commissions of which Mr. Glavis was Secretary the opinion that Mr. Glavis's connection with the Commissions should be severed, Governor Johnson so exactly expresses what we believe to be the principles involved in this incident that we quote his own words: "We may conclude that in the private employment of Glavis the State was not injured, and that his services to the State were rendered with a fidelity unshaken by private interest. But the entire effort of this administration has been to require every public servant, every official, high and low alike, to give to the State his undivided allegiance and never to place himself in a position where his loyalty to the public might be strained by any private interest."

Let in the Light

It is important in many ways that the public of New York State should know just how the many millions of dollars raised for charitable purposes in the State yearly are expended. For this purpose every organization should be required to make public a statement of what it receives and what is done with it, and should do this under the supervision and inspection of State authorities. At present this is not the case; and the reason is to be found in a decision of the Court of Appeals, made by a vote of four to three, which is construed as questioning the State's rights of inspection over certain so-called private charitable associations, namely, those which do not receive public money. So that a very large number of societies, which collect perhaps twenty million dollars a year, are exempt from inspection and public report on the ground that, although they deal with essentially public problems, they cannot be classed as public charities. It is interesting to note that the agitation now under way for the remedy of this state of things by legislation is being carried on largely under the initiative of Mr. A. Barton Hepburn, who was formerly treasurer of one of the finest of all of our philanthropic associations, the Children's Aid Society. Two years ago, as

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President of the Chamber of Commerce of New York City, Mr. Hepburn became *ex officio* a trustee of the Sailors' Snug Harbor, and he was surprised to find that this, which is said to be the richest private charity in the world, controlling scores of millions of dollars' worth of property, had no supervision whatever by State or city. Thus the movement for reform comes in a measure from one of the societies to which the reform would apply, and doubtless there are many others which would welcome the action proposed. It is pointed out with perfect justice and truth that while the present construction of the law stands, the statistics of the private charitable societies can never have their full value. The logical ground on which charitable societies should be asked to report statistics to an authorized agency is not that they receive public money, but that they are dealing with problems of a public character, of whose extent and treatment by each agency and as a whole it is important that the public should know. Moreover, exemptions from taxation cannot consistently be claimed by societies on the ground that they are performing a public function when they deny to the public a proper knowledge of the work which they are doing. It is evident that where a society is organized under the laws of the State to perform duties which are essentially public in their nature, the people of the State should have the fullest information; where the philanthropic effort is really private and limited in its nature, the case may be different. The legislation proposed seems to us to be a wise safeguard against waste or imposition on contributors, and does not in the least throw doubt on the many undoubtedly sound institutions which are now wrongly included with others of a doubtful kind in one illogical and detrimental classification.

A City Survey for Health

A few weeks ago, at the instance of the Federation of Women's Clubs of Montgomery, Alabama, the Rev. Caroline Bartlett Crane, of Kalamazoo, Michigan, who is well known as a social worker and as one interested in securing suffrage for women, was engaged to make a sanitary survey of that city. Montgomery is the fifty-second city in the United States in which Mrs. Crane has performed a service similar to that which she has just completed for that city. Eighteen of these cities are in the Southern States. They include Louisville, Lexington, Paducah, and Frankfort in Kentucky; Nashville, Chattanooga, and Knoxville in Tennessee; Hagerstown in Maryland, and Daytona in Florida. Of the Northern cities seventeen are in Minnesota, including Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth; and in other States are the cities of Scranton, Wilkes-Barre, and Erie in Pennsylvania; Rochester, New York; Calumet and Saginaw, Michigan; Concord, New Hampshire; Fargo, North Dakota; and Fort Dodge, Iowa. In Montgomery, as in other cities in which she has made similar surveys, Mrs. Crane was regularly sworn in as a temporary member of the Health Department, and, in company with the Commissioner of Health and Sanitation, made a study of the public water supply, sewer extension, street sanitation, garbage collection and disposal, smoke nuisance, milk supply, market and bakery sanitation, the almshouse, county and city jails, and public health administration, with some attention to the housing problem. It is an interesting fact that in Montgomery as elsewhere the movement in this work of municipal house-cleaning, as it has been called, was initiated and has been largely supported by the women of the city. This suggests the other important fact, namely, that Mrs. Crane's work is not primarily that of social engineering, but of public education. She has been employed not merely to point out the defects and suggest remedies, but to create a public sentiment in favor of reform. In many instances the city and State officials are aware of conditions that need correction, but they lack funds and they need the cooperation of the whole city in order to carry out necessary reforms. It was for this reason that during her stay in Montgomery Mrs. Crane not merely spoke to the Town Criers, as the business men's organization of that city is called, and to the City Federation of Women's Clubs, but, at the conclusion of her investigation, she spoke for two hours to a mass-meeting of all the citizens, telling them frankly what she thought about the city's health conditions and what they must do to improve them.

Helping Solve the Negro Problem

What gives added interest to Mrs. Crane's work in this instance is the fact that Montgomery is one of the cities in the South in which Negroes represent something like half of the population. Now any one who knows anything about Southern cities

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knows that the Negro population, partly because it is poor, partly because it is ignorant, and partly, perhaps, because it is black, is invariably crowded into the dirtiest, the most unhealthful, and the most neglected portions of the cities. It is in the quarters inhabited by the colored population that one invariably encounters the most disease and the highest mortality. But disease draws no color line, and it is not possible to let one portion of the city or one portion of the population become a breeding-place for disease without eventually affecting the health of the whole community. The consequence is that in Montgomery, as in every other Southern city, the health problem is, to a very large extent, a Negro problem. In a certain sense, also, it is an educational problem. Not only must the health conditions of the Negro population be improved, but the colored people must be educated to co-operate with the rest of the community in making these improvements. It was, no doubt, in recognition of this fact that Mrs. Crane spoke during her stay in Montgomery in most of the Negro schools. It is in these schools that the teachers and leaders of the Negro people are educated, and it is in these schools that the work of regenerating the health conditions of the Negro population must begin. This illustrates one way in which the South, in solving one of the vital problems of city life, is incidentally solving, in the most direct and practical way, the so-called Negro problem.

The Study of the History of Art

Mr. Baldwin Smith, a Fellow in Art and Archæology of Princeton University, has issued a pamphlet on the study of the history of art, and his conclusions are worth noting. The pamphlet was issued to be of use at the tenth annual Conference of Art Historians, which lately met at Rome. It is not to the Roman congress, however, as Professor Allan Marquand says in his introduction, that this pamphlet should be of most interest. The pamphlet should be on file in our colleges and universities, and especially in town libraries, so that those persons who contemplate work in the history of art may find out the nature and extent of the courses offered by the various colleges and universities, and thereby intelligently choose the place to carry on the study. There are, we learn, approximately four hundred institutions of learning in the United States in which the liberal arts are taught for a period of four years. Of these institutions, ninety-five colleges and universities give art history courses, but only sixty-eight colleges and universities give adequate courses. In speaking of an adequate course the establishment of a special chair in art history is assumed. In twenty-seven of the ninety-five institutions above mentioned there is no chair devoted to art history; the twenty-seven institutions simply offer art courses under instructors in other departments. To put the statistics another way, of the one million students in American colleges and universities only a hundred and sixty-three thousand have the advantage of any art courses at all, and only a hundred and forty-five thousand have the privilege of adequate departments in this field. As to the teaching side, at the present time, in the institutions offering art courses, out of a total of over fourteen thousand four hundred instructors only a hundred and seventeen are *exclusively* teachers of the history of art; the others are engaged in other departments as well. This is not as it should be. America is rapidly becoming an art-loving Nation. The appreciation of works of art is not confined to connoisseurs. The attendance at our art museums shows the spontaneous nature of a popular appreciation, and this too of the very best works of art.

A Word of Caution

So many conflicting statements have been published regarding the claims made in behalf of Dr. Friedrich Franz Friedmann, of Berlin, to the discovery of a remedy for tuberculosis, that the need of caution in accepting any such claims should be emphatically brought to the attention of those interested. Hardly anything in the whole field of human advancement could be more welcome or of broader benefit than such a discovery. It is quite possible that the discovery may be made; it is even possible that it has now been made; but unless and until it has been demonstrated to the satisfaction of the sound and conservative scientific and medical world, sensational articles about the claim should not be published at large, nor, if so published, accepted without reservations. The reason is obvious. Even if the claim of discovery is perfectly sincere, and based on a certain amount of evidence, it may be, as has happened over and over again, that wide experiment and

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fuller knowledge may demonstrate that the claim is exaggerated or entirely mistaken. It is hard to imagine the cruel severity with which such an experience dashes the hopes of those who trusted that it might save the lives and happiness of themselves or of those dear to them. It is reported by the papers that an American of wealth has offered a very large financial reward to Dr. Friedmann if, after full trial in this country, under the supervision of recognized authorities in tuberculosis, the new remedy shall prove a success in a large proportion of cases. We strongly advise our readers to abstain from any acceptance of the claims made until after this test, or some other, shall have led the specialists who have made a life study of the disease to indorse it as effective. Meanwhile the greatest English medical journal, "The Lancet," declares that the Berlin authorities before whom Dr. Friedmann's claims were, after long delay and secrecy, laid, are by no means satisfied that the remedy will do what is hoped. It is said that the standards and ethics of medical practice in Germany differ from those in this country. However this may be, it seems all but horrible that, if a remedy for one of the most deadly of human evils is known, the knowledge should be confined to private persons and be available only by those of abundant wealth. In some way such knowledge, when it exists, should become public property; and the rewards to the discoverer should come, not from private practice, but from governmental recognition. Some of the despatches state that a considerable number of Americans are now in vain seeking the Friedmann treatment in Berlin, to which place they were directed by the newspaper reports, and that some of them sold all that they had on the bare chance of success.

The Cocaine Evil

Effort is being made in the New York Legislature to pass a stringent law against the use and sale of cocaine. The evil done through this drug is all but incalculable. It is not only sold to the wretched victims by unprincipled druggists, but it is alleged that unscrupulous physicians often furnish cocaine; and it is known that the drug is sold on the streets by men who carry it in small quantities. In Chicago the Hull House managers tried over and over again to convict these "runners," or street peddlers; but, although they could easily arrest them with packages of cocaine on their persons, it was impossible to obtain a conviction unless actual sale was proven. As a result, Chicago passed an ordinance which has done a good deal to lessen the sale. A still better ordinance has been passed within a month or so by Duluth, with the approval of Dr. Wiley and others. This law has one very effective provision, namely, that every prescription should be filed by the druggist, should be filled only once, and that no copy of it should be furnished. The act before the New York Legislature has been criticised by some physicians and druggists because it forbids the sale of cocaine in any other form than a four per cent solution and the keeping of more than a single ounce of the drug on hand at one time. Probably this might work inconvenience in hospitals or large drug-stores; but in some way the necessary use can surely be provided for without relaxing the stringency of the law. A comment made by the head of a large drug firm probably goes to the exact point. He said: "No, it isn't the druggist who is going to suffer through this excellent bill, nor the doctor either. It is the candy-shop man who slips the drug surreptitiously over the counter, and the miserable dope fiend himself, who will have a hard time now to slake his depraved desire."

Statesmanship in Missions

In no field of activity is statesmanship more apparent than in Foreign Missions, and unquestionably there is an American visitor in India who is a statesman of high order. It is Dr. John R. Mott. The movement of which he has been the official leader there is significant of the new spirit in missionary work. The old idea of the missionary has often been caricatured by the representation of a man with the European dress and European manners preaching theological doctrine to uncomprehending barbarians. That picture of the foreign missionary persists in spite of the fact that it does not represent the modern missionary at all. To-day the missionary is trained to be a physician to carry healing to those that are sick, or as an industrial leader to carry a knowledge of self-help and self-maintenance to those who are dependent and poor, or as a teacher to develop educational systems where they are needed, as well as a preacher to carry hope and faith. In other words,

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the missionary is a servant of the people among whom he lives. With this broadened conception of what the missionary is, there is an increased co-operation among missionaries of all names and among the various missionary bodies. One of the great evidences of this new spirit of union was the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference. That Conference created what is known as a Continuation Committee. It is as Chairman of this Committee that Dr. Mott has been recently active in India. At the close of last year he held seven provincial councils at various centers of the Indian Empire, and finally, in Calcutta, a National Conference. This National Conference was composed of a few representatives of all the missionary boards. Perhaps the most significant feature of these Conferences is the part which the Anglican bishops have taken in this movement for co-operation. In India the High Church branch of the Anglican communion has a basis for its attitude which is not so apparent in other places. It is therefore significant that in every important provincial center the Anglican bishop of that area has taken a leading part in these gatherings, and three Anglican bishops and the first Indian bishop designate took helpful parts in the deliberations of the National Conference. The plan is that there should be established a National Council in India with provincial councils. The result of this Conference in India was the adoption of ten "findings." One, for example, dealt with the training of missionaries. This National Conference unanimously resolved that every missionary who is to come to India should have a thorough training for the line of work which he or she is to follow; also that, in general, missionaries should receive a broad culture, a thorough theological training and instruction in the history and comparisons of religions, in pedagogy, in the principles of phonetics, in Indian history and geography, and in some knowledge of the peoples and customs of their country and of business methods; and that the study of the vernaculars should not be begun until the new missionaries reach India. This result in India is very largely due to the generalship of Dr. Mott, but what the Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh Conference and its capable Chairman have begun to do for Foreign Missions in India they will also do in China, Korea, Japan, and other missionary fields.

THE AMATEUR

When an American Indian, who had won the championship as the best all-round athlete in America, established his right in the Olympic Games at Stockholm last July to be regarded as the greatest amateur athlete in the world, and was so declared by the King of Sweden, there was widespread gratification in America. Now that that great Indian athlete, James Thorpe, has been stripped of his honors because, by his own confession, he had received money for playing baseball, and therefore was not an amateur but a professional and had no right to enter into competition with amateur athletes, the humiliation is not confined to him; it extends to all who value their country's reputation for fairness in sport as in all other matters.

Every such incident lends aid and comfort to those who are constantly looking for proof of their assertions that Americans are constitutionally devoted to the doctrine that nothing should stand in the way of winning. This incident in particular will afford an opportunity to those unfriendly to this country to declare again their opinion that the ideals of the gentleman are beyond the comprehension of American athletes, and that American sport is thoroughly commercialized. The fact that these aspersions are unjust and ill founded only makes it the more humiliating for such an incident as this to occur; for the fact that in this conspicuous instance the standards of amateur athletics have been ignored makes it all the more difficult to persuade foreign critics to regard these aspersions as ill founded and unjust.

James Thorpe is a student at the Carlisle Indian School. He is of the Sac and Fox tribe, and, like many other Indians, has sufficient property to afford him support. The Carlisle School is well known for its athletes and its athletic teams. In particular, the Carlisle football team has established a reputation for a peculiar skill and brilliance. Thorpe has been the best-known football player at the School and one of the greatest football players in the country. He is almost as well known as a player of baseball. "In the summer of 1909 and 1910" (this is his own phrase) he played baseball in North Carolina, and for this received money. In the fall of 1911 he was readmitted to the Carlisle Indian School. He took part not only in the sports of the School but also in the athletic meets of the Amateur Athletic Union.

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Last summer he went with the rest of the American team to Stockholm and competed in the Olympic Games. His achievements there astonished the whole world of athletes. In particular, he took part in two great series of athletic events. One, known as the Pentathlon, is a series of five athletic events; the other, the Decathlon, is a series of ten athletic events. In the first series, out of a possible five firsts he won four; in the Decathlon he registered 8,412 points as against the 7,724 of his nearest competitor, a Swede. Thus the two events which he won required specialized skill in many varieties of sport, such as sprinting, long-distance running, high and broad jumping, weight-throwing, casting the javelin, and the like. As a result of his extraordinary achievements in the Olympic Games he received among his prizes the sculptured Viking ship given by the Czar of Russia and the bronze bust of the King of Sweden presented by the King. These and other trophies which he has secured as an amateur athlete will be his no longer, and such of them as he secured at the Olympic Games must be returned to the Olympic Committee to be redistributed to those who rightfully won them.

This is a subject that concerns American public opinion.

In the first place, American public opinion should cordially support the officials of the Amateur Athletic Union, whose action was so prompt and sure in this matter that the repudiation of Thorpe as an amateur was officially made simultaneously with the news of the discovery of his offenses. There was a chance for the representatives of organized amateur sport in America to make clear to the world that their standards of amateur sport were inexorable; and they used that chance to the best advantage. They might have allowed a very legitimate sympathy for this Indian student, and their recognition that he had done only what others had done with impunity, to cloud their judgment and to obscure their sense of duty toward the cause of pure athletics. This they did not do. Like everybody else who thinks about this, they must from the first have seen that there was a large element of individual injustice to Thorpe himself in the consequences that followed his acts as a boy. For a young man to be humiliated before the whole world simply because he played baseball one summer and thoughtlessly accepted money for his playing, as others were doing and as a great many professional players do without any disgrace whatever, seems to be an extraordinarily disproportionate punishment. It might be said that his punishment came from the fact that he concealed his having received money; but the fact that he played for the fun of it and not for the sake of the money may well have led him to believe thoroughly in his own amateur spirit and standing. He was mistaken; but the consequence to him is a very severe penalty for such a mistake. These considerations must have been in the minds of Mr. James E. Sullivan, the American Commissioner to the Olympic Games and Secretary of the Amateur Athletic Union; Mr. G. T. Kirby, the President of the organization, and Mr. Bartow S. Weeks, the legal adviser; but such considerations did not govern their decision. Humiliating, therefore, as the experience is in one respect, it is emphatically encouraging in another, for it has afforded evidence to the whole world that organized amateur athletics in this country will not countenance disregard of amateur standards. These officials should, and we believe will, receive unmistakable signs of the applause of American public sentiment.

There is another matter in connection with this as to which American public sentiment should express itself unmistakably. In the course of his letter to Mr. Sullivan acknowledging that he had received money for baseball-playing, Thorpe writes:

> On the same teams I played with were several college men from the North who were earning money by ball-playing during their vacations and who were regarded as amateurs at home. I did not play for the money there was in it, because my property brings me in enough money to live on, but because I liked to play ball. I was not very wise to the ways of the world and did not realize that this was wrong and it would make me a professional in track sports, although I learned from the other players that it would be better for me not to let any one know that I was playing, and for that reason I never told any one at the School about it until to-day. . . . I never realized until now what a big mistake I made by keeping it a secret about my ball-playing, and I am sorry I did so. I hope I will be partly excused by the fact that I was simply an Indian school-boy and did not know all about such things. In fact, I did not know that I was doing wrong because I was doing what I knew several other college men had done; except that they did not use their own names.

To every college in the land these words of this Indian student should come as a sermon. To some they should bring shame and contrition. The colleges of the country

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should be the repositories of the best traditions and standards of amateur sport. It is because they have not been that this humiliation has come upon an Indian athlete, and indeed upon the whole country. Every college alumnus who is influential in any respect in athletics should search his conscience to see if he, through word or influence, has been in any way responsible for maintaining the low standards regarding fairness and candor in athletics that led James Thorpe to this pass.

MUNICIPAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

We are permitted to publish the following extract from a private letter of a prominent citizen of New York City, which seems to us admirable in its spirit and purpose:

> There are many men who are sincerely and courageously devoted to good government, and who would gladly promote it, but these are divided in organizations, and hence are not as strong in their influence as they would be if united. It is a case of a great many persons being interested in accomplishing a good result, but through divided agencies, thus multiplying their activities and decreasing their efficiency and wasting their energy. Why is it not possible to unite and bring together into one virile organization all of the civic forces, energy, and courage which are now so badly broken up, and thus present a strong and vigorous organization which could be made permanent in its character? If such a result could be accomplished, it would be absolutely controlling in the affairs of New York. Its basic principle should be the management of the business of the city of New York upon business principles, by heads of departments who are experts, and by a chief executive who is a man of business efficiency and character and free from the dominating influence and control of any political organization.

The writer goes on to suggest a conference of representatives of the chief non-political organizations of New York City, such as the Chamber of Commerce, the three great colleges, the charitable organizations, and the labor organizations, for the purpose of creating a "New York Chamber of Business Administration," to secure the business administration of the city of New York by honest officials and upon business principles.

We have already indicated the reasons why we think any municipal reform movement in New York City, either partisan or bi-partisan in its character, would be doomed to failure. Such a movement should be non-partisan, and it should, in the judgment of The Outlook, be based upon the following principles:

1. It should not be an anti-Tammany movement. It should be affirmative, not negative. Its purpose should be that indicated by Mr. Whitman at the Whitman dinner—the purpose to make the government of New York City the best possible government. This certainly includes an administration of its business by honest men on business principles, but it includes more. It includes making the city government a truly democratic government; that is, a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

The first and fundamental principle should be government *of* the people. The citizens of New York City—and this is equally true of every great city in the country—should frame their own charter, as the people of a State frame their own constitution, and the charter should be accepted by the State government unless it is inconsistent with the Constitution of the State or the best interest of the State at large, as the Constitution of a State is accepted by Congress unless it is inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States or the public policy of the Nation.

2. This charter should give to the citizens of the city power to frame their own municipal legislation and to administer their own municipal affairs. There would be difficulty in drawing the line between those matters which are municipal and those which are State, but it would not be greater than the difficulty in drawing the line between those matters which are State and those matters which are Federal. If this principle—the right of the city to govern itself—were once honestly accepted, experience would enable us to work out the details and correct the errors into which we should doubtless at first fall.

3. This government should be for the benefit of all the citizens of the city, not for the benefit of special interests. Its Police Department, its Fire Department, its Department of Streets and Parks, its Department of Docks, its transportation system, and every other part of the city life, should be devised and operated for the common benefit of all alike.

What is needed for New York City is a conference of a few representative citizens, not officially representing either political or industrial organizations, but including men of every class, religious opinion, and political faith in the community, who are agreed in applying the principle of self-government to

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the nearly five million inhabitants that live in the Greater New York. The campaign to follow such a conference should have this for its motto, The best government possible for New York City. And it should have this for its method, The democracy of Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg speech applied in municipal affairs. A campaign with such a motto and such a method would stand a fair chance of carrying the city and initiating a movement which would outlast the election and extend to other cities and to other States. But, to succeed, it must be more than a political campaign against Tammany, more than a moral reform campaign against graft, more than a class campaign in which culture and wealth co-operate to confer a benefit upon the common people. It must be from start to finish in its conception and in all its prosecution a non-partisan, non-class, democratic movement.

PEACE OR WAR?

No one can read the story of the social and industrial conditions of the shirt and garment workers of New York, reported in last week's issue of The Outlook, without a heartache. The consequence is that there are many who will not read that or any similar account, because heartache is not agreeable. On the other hand, there are those who, reading that account, will jump to the false conclusion that their condition is typical of all wage-earners, and justifies a revolution against the wages system. The conditions which have existed in Lawrence and Little Falls and in the sweatshops of New York City are typical of conditions that exist in other communities and in other industries, but they are not universal. There is no reason why radical remedies should not be applied in the cure of radical wrongs, but there is very good reason why a universal revolution should not be initiated to remedy evils which are not universal.

Doubtless there are some persons in America who are indifferent to these conditions. Dives is still content to be clothed with fine linen and to fare sumptuously every day, while Lazarus lies at his door covered with sores. Even the stray dog is more compassionate than such a Dives. But this state of indifference and chosen ignorance is also the exception. The number of organizations which are engaged in studying such social conditions in order to better them, and of other organizations which are engaged with greater or less wisdom in practical work for their betterment, is very great. In the history of the world, never in this or in any other country have so many men and women borne the burdens of the burdened on their hearts, or so sincerely and heartily desired to lighten them, or labored with so much real self-sacrifice to fulfill this desire. Whatever success or lack of success may have attended these labors, in the promotion and intelligent direction of this altruistic spirit largely lies the hope of social betterment. The age is not the most reverential, nor the most believing; but it is the most philanthropic age in the history of the world. Democracy does not promote reverence; it does not promote faith; but it does promote practical benevolence. We have recently pointed out to our readers the fact that the Protestant evangelical churches which are federated in a National body have united in a common declaration that it should be and is the purpose of the churches to secure in the community a social justice which does not now characterize it, and which is the foundation of the Kingdom of God.

But the remedy for these conditions is not sought by benevolence only; it is also sought by self-interest, and sometimes by a self-interest embittered by class feeling or personal envy. The remedies that are sought are not concurrent. They are sometimes entirely inconsistent. They may be grouped in four general classes, which might be entitled Philanthropy, Industrial Evolution, Industrial Revolution, Industrial War.

1. There are many who think that the present wages system belongs to the order of nature, like the solar system, and is as unalterable as the law of gravitation. They believe that always there must exist capitalists and laborers; that the capitalists, or tool-owners, must always be a small and intelligent minority, and the laborers always a large and less intelligent majority; that the minority must own the tools and direct the industries, and the laborers must use the tools and carry on the industries under the direction of the capitalists or tool-owners. But they wish to secure friendly relations and cordial co-operation between these two classes. They wish to pay adequate wages and to provide sanitary conditions. They wish to add to both the welfare and the happiness of the laboring classes. They provide, in connection with their work, libraries, gymnasiums, clubs, perhaps homes, at reasonable prices. They are

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sincerely in favor of better social conditions, but they do not think that the present wages system ever will be or can be radically changed.

2. The industrial evolutionist does not believe that the wages system is or will be the permanent order of society, though probably always some men will employ and pay wages to other men. He agrees with Abraham Lincoln that "as the Author of man makes every individual with one head and one pair of hands, it was probably intended that heads and hands should co-operate as friends, and that each particular head should direct and control that pair of hands." He therefore looks forward to the time when the tool-users will gradually become the tool-owners and will both direct their industries and own the tools and implements by which their industries are carried on. In other words, he looks forward to the time when the great majority of laborers will be capitalists and the great majority of capitalists will be laborers, and the distinction between the capitalistic and the laboring classes will come to an end. He favors, therefore, such social and industrial reforms as will bring about by a gradual process a better division of wealth, a better participation in capital, a better training of all citizens in the virtues of truth, temperance, and industry, and a better education of all citizens, especially in vocational or industrial training, so that the common people may be able, by reason of the social conditions and of their personal character, to become the owners of the wealth of the Nation and the directors of its industries.

3. A third group have no hope of any such gradual industrial change. They have seen the political organization of Nation, of State, of city, take up and carry on certain industries. They have seen the city provide the water supply and the lighting for the citizens. They have seen the State carry on with increasing ability an educational system to provide instruction for all the children of the State. They have seen the Nation organize and administer a postal system which is now also an express system and a savings bank system. They have seen it dig a great world canal and expect to see it administer that canal. And they look forward to the time when all the organized industries of the community shall be owned and operated by the people in their political capacity; that is, by the city or the State or the Nation. In other words, they expect the community to become the sole capitalist and all the citizens to do their work, or at least their organized work, under the direction of the community.

4. A fourth body of reformers, if they can be so called, are simply animated by a hot indignation against the present system. They desire to make war against it. They have no faith in industrial evolution, they have no faith in political and peaceful revolution. They have inaugurated and are trying to carry on war to the death against capitalism. Their attitude of mind might be compared to that of the Balkan States in the recent war with Turkey. The Balkan States wished to drive the Turk out of Europe. The Turkish Government having been destroyed, they would then consider what kind of a government they would organize in its place. The industrial warrior wishes to drive the capitalist out of existence and transfer the capital to the hands of the laboring classes. He wages war against capitalism. But it is private war, unrestrained by any sense of justice and fair dealing, and is marked at all times by violence and at some times by unspeakable barbarity.

We have here simply attempted to state in very general terms the four types of remedy proposed for present evils in the industrial world: Philanthropy, Industrial Evolution, Industrial Revolution, Industrial War.

Industrial war offers no solution for the industrial problem. In truth, to give the title of war to such a campaign of assassination as has been conducted by dynamiters such as the McNamaras is to confer upon it a dignity which it does not deserve. War is a conflict between organized forces under prescribed rules for the regulation of the conflict. In so-called industrial war there are neither organized forces nor rules for the regulation of the conflict. The campaign of violence conducted against the present social order by such organizations as the Structural Iron Workers and the Industrial Workers of the World far more resembles the vendetta of Italy than it resembles war. The definition of the vendetta given by the Encyclopædia Britannica might well be applied to define this unmilitary campaign against society: "It is a development of that stage in civilization common to all primitive communities, when the injury done was held to be more than personal, a wrong done to the whole *gens*."

This labor vendetta ought not to be confounded with Political Socialism, with which it

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has no kinship. We do not, however, believe that Political Socialism—that is, the ownership of all the tools and implements of organized industry and the administration of all organized industries by the State—would furnish any solution of the labor problem. The relation between capitalist and labor would still continue, only the capitalist would be the State. The administration of the industrial institutions by the State gives no more promise of industrial liberty than the administration of ecclesiastical institutions by the State gives promise of religious liberty.

So long as society is divided into two classes, capitalist and laborer, so long principles of justice and sentiments of kindness may do much to relieve the strained relations between the two. Philanthropy may ameliorate the conflict of interests. But philanthropy cannot put an end to that conflict. It may lead toward permanent peace, but it cannot by itself establish a peace that is permanent.

We agree with Abraham Lincoln; we desire to see such political, educational, and industrial reforms as will lead on to the time when the workingmen, that is, the tool-users, will become the capitalists, that is, the tool-owners, and will direct the organized industries of the Nation, not by political action, but by industrial co-operation.

THE SOCIAL EVIL

THE IMMEDIATE REMEDIES

The plan, reported on another page, which Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has devised for a thorough, systematic study of the social evil is worthy of the highest commendation. There has been some careful study of this subject by individuals; there has been a great deal of writing on the subject in the press by persons wholly uninformed; but we do not know of any attempt heretofore made to make a thorough, scientific investigation of the causes of the social evil and of the various sporadic and localized attempts to deal with it. Mr. Rockefeller is entitled to the thanks of the entire community for this wise application of laboratory methods to a great moral epidemic.

But it would be a great mistake to suppose that the community must wait for the results of this investigation before applying any methods of treatment. There are four remedies which may be applied at once without delay—three legal, one educational.

We know without further investigation that girls are systematically both enticed and forced into prostitution. We know that there is a white slave traffic carried on in many of the principal cities of America and in Europe. We do not need to wait until Mr. Rockefeller's investigation is concluded before taking vigorous measures to break up this white slave traffic, this drafting by force slaves into the service of vice.

We do not need to wait for the results of that investigation before taking far more efficient measures than are generally taken in America to prevent the open and even ostentatious carrying on of this infamous trade. We can stop vicious women from plying their vocation on the public streets, and we can close houses that are really disorderly houses; that is, that are so conducted as to be a nuisance to the neighborhood in which they are placed. We cannot put a stop to all licentiousness, but we can put a stop to its more flagrant and publicly offensive forms.

No one knows how many of these professional ministers to vice would be glad to escape from their horrible life. We know that some at least are willing to escape. The report of the Florence Mission for 1886–7 says that out of 241 admitted to the Home and provided with opportunities for honest industry, only nineteen were so far unaccounted for that it was reasonable to believe they had returned to their old life, while nearly one-half were positively accounted for as permanently reformed. The present method of dealing with an arrested girl upon the street is preposterous. In New York City she is often sent to the Island for thirty days, at the end of which time she has no resource except to return to her old profession. Every girl so arrested should be sent to a Reformatory and retained there until she has acquired the ability and the inclination to earn an honest living. If she never acquires it, she should remain there for the rest of her life. If to any one this sentence seems cruel, we reply, it is immeasurably more cruel to let her go back to the life from which she has been rescued.

Fathers and mothers can make it their sacred duty to see that their children are acquainted with the mystery of life and trained to reverence sexual love, which is the highest form of human love save only that of the parent for the child. Such education ought never to be left to schools. How far

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schools can make up for the iniquitous dereliction of duty in parents is a perplexing question.

Meanwhile there are these four things which need not wait for further instruction—a legal campaign against the white slave traffic, a legal campaign against the public exploitation of vice, legal provision for the rescue of those who are willing to be rescued, and wise instruction of the ignorant and innocent.

LETTERS TO UNKNOWN FRIENDS

Various ministers have written to me at different times, presenting in somewhat different forms a problem which I think perplexes many, especially of the younger men, in the ministry. The problem is substantially as follows:

A young man has devoted himself to the ministry before beginning his theological studies. The result of his theological studies has been to change, perhaps materially, his point of view. He finds himself unable to accept certain of the tenets and certain of the definitions current in the traditional theology of his Church. He still desires to preach the glad tidings, he still accepts and desires to proclaim to others Jesus Christ as a Divine Master and Saviour, and to use the Bible as a guide-book in life. But he regards the first chapter of Genesis as a psalm, not as a scientific treatise; the third chapter of Genesis as a parable, not as history. Some of the Bible stories he regards as folk-lore. For some of the so-called miracles he thinks he can find natural causes, and others he regards as unhistorical, and his spiritual faith does not rest upon the miracles and is not shaken by doubts concerning them. That the whole human race sinned in Adam and fell with him in the great transgression he does not believe; and redemption has come to him to mean less a recovery from a fall than a divine process of development from a lower to a higher stage in creation.

Entertaining these or similar opinions, he doubts whether his Church will grant him ordination, or, if he has been ordained and is pastor of a church, he questions whether he ought to go on in this ministry, with theological views widely divergent from those traditionally held by his Church and still held more or less tenaciously by many of his brethren in the ministry. He is not willing to abandon his ministry, to which indeed he is more devoted than ever; neither is he willing to be insincere and pretend to beliefs which he does not entertain.

I am persuaded that there are a great many young men who are kept from the ministry by some such condition as I have here described, and a great many others who are perplexed as to their duty in the ministry upon which they have already entered and in the course of which their doctrinal views have undergone more or less radical changes. In what follows I will repeat in this place what substantially I have said in probably some score or more of cases in private letters to inquirers.

1. Sincerity is for all of us a fundamental virtue. It is in some sense peculiarly essential to the ministry. Virtue is virtue in every profession, sin is sin in every profession. But there are some virtues more essential in some professions than they are in others. A coward cannot be a soldier, nor a dishonest man a merchant, nor a man lacking in the sense of justice a lawyer, nor a careless man a surgeon. So an insincere man cannot by any possibility have success in the ministry. He may, as a rhetorician and an actor, secure audiences; but the real power of the minister as a spiritual force depends on his personality, and his personality depends on his absolute truthfulness. There ought to be in our speech no use of words in a double sense, no falsification, no evasions. This is, of course, universally true. But it is a truth which the ministry should hold peculiarly sacred. Professionalism, that is, the utterance of doctrines or the expression of emotions, not because they are real and vital to the speaker, but because he thinks they will be profitable to the congregation, is the bane of the ministry. No minister should ever give any justification or excuse for the question of the little girl, "Is it true, or is it only preaching?"

2. I do not abate one jot or tittle from this fundamental principle in going on to say that there is danger lest we exaggerate our differences with our fellow-Christians, or so express them as to give them undue proportion. The emphasis should always be laid on the spirit, not on the definition. Definitions in theology are always inadequate, for theology, to be worth anything, must be an experience, and experience is never capable of exact definition. Faith, hope, and love cannot be defined with the exactitude with which a mathematician defines a triangle or

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a parallelogram, or a chemist defines the constituent elements in water. When a congregation, repeating the Apostles' Creed, says, "I believe in the resurrection of the body," if careful inquiry were to be made it would probably be found that many different things are meant by this phrase. It is certainly true that many different things have been meant by this phrase in the history of the Church. It may mean that the identical body laid in the grave will rise from the grave again. It may mean that the spirit will be clothed with a body which has some not well-comprehended connection with the body laid in the grave, as the oak has connection with the acorn from which it springs. It may mean that every man has a spiritual body, subtle, undefinable, unrecognizable by science, which is released by death and rises into the spiritual world. It may simply mean belief in personal immortality, as distinguished from belief in absorption into the Infinite. All these opinions have been meant by the phrase in the history of the Church, and probably most, if not all, of them are more or less vaguely meant by different members of the congregation in their reciting of the Creed. In other words, our creeds are not intended to be theological definitions; they are intended, like the hymns we sing, to be expressions of a vital spiritual experience.

It is of great importance that we of the liberal faith should recognize the fact that all theological definitions are inadequate, because all spiritual experiences are undefinable, and that we should put our emphasis, not on our doubts or our differences, but on our faiths and our agreements with our brethren. Nor is this merely a prudential maxim; it is a principle that should be carried out in all our life. I think, for example, that Protestants have greatly over-emphasized our differences with our Roman Catholic brethren, and I think the very word Protestant is for this reason unfortunate. I am at one with my Roman Catholic brother in my faith in one God, a God of justice and of mercy, in my faith in his forgiveness of sin, in my faith in the revelation which he has made to us in the life and teachings of his Son, Jesus Christ, and is continually making to us in our spiritual experiences of fellowship with him. These agreements with my Roman Catholic brother are far more important than my dissent from his interpretation of the Church and the Sacraments. I would not deny or conceal my dissent, but I would put emphasis on my agreement.

How wisely to adjust these two principles, how to be absolutely sincere without overestimating the differences, how to emphasize agreements without a suspicion of insincerity, is a difficult problem. I think it can be solved only by the possession of a spirit which desires to find agreement rather than disagreement, but which also desires to find it through methods of sincerity.

3. It is not the duty of a minister to depart from his denomination because he thinks himself to be more or less in disagreement with its traditional doctrines. If he thinks that he can be of more spiritual efficiency, that he can do more for building up the Kingdom of Righteousness and Peace and Joy and Divine Companionship in a different church fellowship from that in which he has been brought up, he should certainly make the change. But mere theological disagreement with the Church of his fathers constitutes no reason for his voluntarily leaving it. Jesus Christ differed radically in his conception and interpretation of the religious life from those prevalent in the general synagogue teaching of his time, but he continued preaching in the synagogue until he was turned out. Luther did not leave the Roman Catholic Church until the Roman Catholic Church refused to allow him to remain in its communion. John Wesley never withdrew from the Episcopal Church, though the Episcopal churches very generally refused to allow him to preach in their pulpits. These are safe examples for the modern minister to follow. It is both right and wise for him to leave his associates to decide whether the difference in opinion is so great that they desire to put an end to his ministerial fellowship with them. The Church and the ministry are increasingly inclined to make the basis of Christian fellowship unity in the spirit rather than intellectual agreement, and those who find themselves not in full intellectual agreement should aid to promote rather than to check this tendency.

For my part, I am glad to work in fellowship with any one who is working to promote the kingdom of God on the earth, whatever may be the intellectual differences between himself and myself, provided he is willing to work with me. But I am not willing to misinterpret or to conceal my opinions. There can be no real spiritual fellowship the foundations of which are not laid in absolute sincerity.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

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THE CHURCH AND HUMAN SERVICE

TWO VIEWS

THE following letter expresses one view of the Church in relation to modern problems. It is followed by our statement of another view.

I

To the Editors of The Outlook:

I have read with much interest your account of, and comments on, the work of the Federal Council which lately held its meeting in Chicago. You print its declaration in full, and refer to it as an attempt on the part of the churches "to apply real religion to the practical questions of the day."

Is it? It is unquestionably an attempt to solve some of the "practical questions of the day," but that this is an attempt to apply "real religion" to their solution seems to me at least open to question. The statement of the Federal Council is practically a reproduction of the declaration of the Progressive party issued at Chicago last August. I am content to accept the Progressive policies as the best attempt yet made by any political party to meet the practical questions of the day. But surely that was an attempt to apply, not "real religion," but the highest human wisdom and the best political methods, to their solution.

There are three things to be considered in any effort of this kind:

(1) The *object* sought;

(2) The *power* by which that object is to be obtained; and

(3) The *method* by which it is proposed to apply that power.

In order to save time I am ready to concede that the Christian religion and the Progressive party aim at the same object: the welfare, the happiness, and the prosperity of the people. But there they part company. They differ radically as to the power and the method by which the people are to be saved and blessed.

The Federal Council, like the Progressive party, is looking to "uniform laws," "proper regulations," "provision of proper education and recreation," "proper housing," "organization," "means of conciliation and arbitration," "reasonable reduction in hours of labor," "highest wages," "equitable distribution of products of industry," etc. It is plainly depending on human power, guided by human wisdom, to deliver the people from the evils that afflict them, domestic, personal, social, industrial, and political.

Now, the Christian religion (and the Jewish too, for that matter) declares that the highest and best human wisdom and power are utterly inadequate for that purpose. They can do something, of course, but very little, for man's relief. For blind Bartimeus they can wash the poor beggar, provide clothing, buy him a little dog or hire a boy to lead him, and even invent an alphabet and print books that the blind may read. But all this leaves the man still blind and miserable.

There is another wisdom and power that go to the source of man's trouble and can deliver him from all his woes. Christ, "the wisdom of God and the power of God," sought the man's welfare and happiness by opening his eyes, the one thing he desired and needed. Here is the power, accessible to man, that can transform the world, solve all man's problems, heal all his sicknesses, deliver him from all the evils that afflict him, and secure for him all the blessings for which he longs.

Certainly when Christ was on earth in his natural body he applied "real religion," the wisdom and the power of God, most effectively to the practical needs of men. His Church, and every congregation of his Church, was meant to be another kind of body for him, in which he promised to be present when its members assembled in his name, and through which he proposed to do these same works for needy men, on a world-wide scale, until man's redemption was complete. If one may judge from your report, the Federal Council does not believe in that "power from on high" as applicable to the practical questions of the day, but does believe devoutly in human wisdom and political methods as fully adequate for man's deliverance.

That position is all right, perhaps, for a political party. There is no objection to its trying to make water run up hill. It is simply a waste of breath. The attempt is bound to fail. But when the Church, as represented by its Federal Council, ignores the great "power of the Spirit" of which she

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was meant to be the channel, and pins her faith to human power and political methods, it seems to me that she is guilty of the most shameless disloyalty to her Lord.

She may attempt to justify her treachery by saying that "the day of miracles has passed." What has very nearly passed is the day of true discipleship to Jesus Christ. When he can have in any community a body of genuine disciples as he has described them, consecrated men who love him and believe in his wisdom and power and methods, who will obey him implicitly, and confidently ask him, in the way that he has prescribed, to manifest his power in the service of some needy man, the day of miracles will return. He can do to-day, through his body the Church, all that he ever did of old through his natural body. NELSON P. DAME.

Alexandria, Virginia.

II

Before stating the other view, we wish to remove what seems to be a misapprehension of the facts in two respects. If a reading of the editorial correspondence concerning the Federal Council at Chicago has led the writer of the foregoing letter into error, it may have led others into the same error. A careful reading of that correspondence would, we believe, have saved any one from the misunderstanding of the facts shown in this letter; but it is not to be supposed that every one who reads reads carefully.

First, the writer is under a misapprehension when he says that the Declaration of the Federal Council quoted in that correspondence is the "reproduction" of a political platform. As was stated three times in that correspondence, the utterance of the churches on social and industrial questions dates not from 1912 but from 1908—that is, three years before the birth of the party which our friend from Alexandria seems to think originated the Declaration. If any group of people have been quicker than the Church to see some truth and to express it, there would be no virtue in the Church's blindly ignoring that truth simply because it had not been discovered or proclaimed first by the Church itself. In this case, however, the Church has had no occasion to exercise the virtue of humility and acknowledge itself as laggard; it is the Church that has led, or at least been among the leaders. The Declaration which our friend ascribes to the Progressive party is a revision and enlargement of the Declaration adopted by the Council in its first meeting, four years before.[1]

The fact is that the Declaration on Modern Industry, though in its original form antedating both the platform of the Progressive party and the report of the Committee on Standards of Living and Labor of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, is, like both of these, an expression of an awakened public conscience. In the interest of historical accuracy it should be recorded that the voice of the Church was heard before that of the politician or the social worker.

Second, the writer of this letter seems to imagine that this Declaration on Modern Industry is the only utterance of the Federal Council of Churches. In this he, with perhaps many others, has been misled. The full report of the Committee on the Church and Social Service, comprising a pamphlet of thirty pages, was formally adopted by the

[1] For the benefit of those who are interested to know in just what respect this declaration of 1908 was revised and enlarged in 1912, we here print the declaration with the amendments indicated. Brackets are used to indicate words in 1908 omitted in 1912; italics to indicate words added in 1912; all the rest is common to both versions. The order in which the several sections are here given is that of 1912; the order of the sections in the version of 1908 is indicated by the numbers in parentheses. With the exception of the new phrases in sections numbered 12 and 16, which were added by order of the Federal Council itself, the changes noted were formulated by the Committee of Direction of the Committee on the Church and Social Service in the spring of 1912.

[To us it seems that] the Churches must stand:

1. For equal rights and complete justice for all men in all stations of life. (1)
2. *For the protection of the family, by the single standard of purity, uniform divorce laws, proper regulation of marriage, and proper housing.*
3. *For the fullest possible development for every child, especially by the provision of proper education and recreation.*
4. For the abolition of child labor. (5)
5. For such regulation of the conditions of toil for women as shall safeguard the physical and moral health of the community. (6)
6. For the abatement *and prevention* of poverty. (13)
7. *For the protection of the individual and society from the social, economic, and moral waste of the liquor traffic.*

[For the suppression of the "sweating system."] (7)

8. *For the conservation of health.*
9. For the protection of the worker from dangerous machinery, occupational diseases, and mortality. (4)
10. For the right of all men to the opportunity of self-maintenance, [a right ever to be wisely and strongly safeguarded] *for safeguarding this right* against encroachments of every kind. [For the right of workers to some], *and for the protection of workers from* [against] the hardships [often resulting from the swift crises of industrial change] *of enforced unemployment.* (2)
11. For suitable provision for the old age of the workers, and for those incapacitated by injury. (12)
12. For [the principles] *the right of employees and employers alike to organize for adequate means* of conciliation and arbitration in industrial [dissensions] *disputes.*
14. For the gradual and reasonable reduction of the hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, and for that degree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life. (8)
15. For a living wage as a minimum in every industry, and for the highest wage that each industry can afford. (10)
16. For *a new emphasis upon the application of Christian principles to the acquisition and use of property, and for* the most equitable division of the products of industry that can ultimately be devised. (11)

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Council, besides eight or ten other reports, including a number of definite resolutions. The record of the first meeting of the Council comprises a volume of over five hundred pages. The record of the meeting of 1912 will doubtless be as extensive. The Declaration in question was, and probably will continue to be, the most distinctive and striking utterance of this federal church body, but it is not, and does not purport to be, a revelation of its whole purpose. It is significant enough as it is—the statement of the standards which the conscience of the Church sets for the social and industrial life of to-day. In the Report of the Commission on the Church and Social Service, published by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America (215 Fourth Avenue, New York), there is an extended discussion of the relation of religious motive to the solution of modern social problems. There was even more extended discussion of this in certain of the addresses that will be later published in the report of the Council. In advance of the publication of that report, a comparatively brief summary of the Chicago meeting has been prepared in the form of a letter to the churches from the Council's Committee on Correspondence. Any one who has shared Mr. Dame's misapprehensions should be interested in that communication.

Mr. Dame's charge that the churches are guilty of "shameless disloyalty" seems, however, to be based on something deeper than a misapprehension of the facts. It seems to be based on the assumption that the power of God in human life is somehow dependent on men's invoking it every time they desire it employed; that there is something essentially evil in the human reason, or in human wisdom; and that it is not only disloyal to put to the service of mankind the instruments of law and government, but it is as futile as it is to attempt to make water run up hill.

Happily, experience proves that God has put his moral forces to the service of men as freely as his physical forces. It is not necessary for a man to say, I breathe through the power of God, in order to breathe. Neither is it necessary for him to say, I repent through the power of God, in order to repent. So it is not necessary for him to say, I serve my fellow-man through the power of God, in order to serve his fellow-man. There is no record of the Good Samaritan's making any avowal of his dependence on God's power, and yet his deeds stand forever as Jesus Christ's standards of the fulfillment of the Second Commandment which he said was like unto the First. What Jesus Christ called love was apparently not dependent upon professions; it was dependent on deeds. By parable he taught that one who said he loved and did not act did not love; while one who did not say he loved, but acted, did love. Some things may be taken for granted. When a church of Christ sets up an object as one that should be attained, it may be taken for granted that it relies on the power of God for the attainment of that object—whether it be the building of a new house of worship or the prevention of the waste of human life. If the Church has a building problem before it, does it not go to an architect and builder? It does not need to declare that it depends on the power of God to hold the structure together. It may be taken for granted that the Church regards the laws of cohesion and gravitation as manifestations of the power of God. So if the Church has a social problem before it, should it not turn to whatever agency can deal best with that social problem? It may be assumed that it regards the moral forces that must be utilized as manifestations of the power of God.

The intimation, therefore, that human wisdom or human reason is something that cannot be employed without disloyalty to God is equivalent to a denial that God wishes men to employ the gifts he has given them. If it is a mark of loyalty to refuse to employ reason in the solution of the problems of life, then the only persons in the world who are really free from disloyalty are those to whom the gift of reason has been denied. If it is right for a man to employ human reason in the selection of his food for the preservation of his own life, it is right that the Church should employ human reason in doing its work for the sake of the world of men whom it is called to serve.

It is not only right for the Church to exercise reason and to employ the wisdom of man in its service; it can fulfill its duty only as it does so. This does not mean that the Church must go into the business of teaching in order to fight against ignorance, or go into politics in order to fight against injustice, or go into the military service in order to defend the weak against the military oppressor; but it does mean that it should exert all its powers to direct the soldier's wisdom to the end of freedom and not of tyranny, the politician's wisdom to the end of justice and not of

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oppression, the teacher's wisdom to the end of enlightenment and not of darkness. The Church has been recreant to its trust in those periods when it has withdrawn itself from the world and allowed human wisdom and reason to be used unchecked for selfish ends to the hurt of mankind.

It was just because the Hebrew prophets did not withdraw from the world of men, but spoke out boldly about the wrong and selfish use of power, that the words of these prophets survive. When Amos came from Tekoa and saw how the rich and the powerful were using their riches and their power, he did not talk about doctrines, he talked about deeds; he had something specific to say to those who "oppress the poor" and "crush the needy," those who take advantage of the poor of the land in the selling of corn and of wheat; and, though of course he did not speak of legislatures, because there were no legislatures, he very emphatically referred to palaces and princes. As for Isaiah, he was a courtier, a member of the ruling classes, and he, like the earlier prophet, the herdsman Amos, talked about oppression and the deeds of the strong and the powerful; he showed impatience and indignation at the suggestion that religion had nothing to do with such matters, and even went so far as to denounce religious meetings and the observance of sacred days; he made it plain that what he was interested in was the indifference of the rulers of the land to matters of common honesty, the prevalence of graft ("every one," said he, "loveth gifts, and followeth after rewards"), and the refusal of common justice to dependent women and children; and he made it equally plain that the one essential sign of religion on the part of his countrymen would appear when they set themselves to seeking justice, dealing with the oppressor, and making conditions right for the dependent children and women of the land. So we might turn to the other prophets of that era, and we should find them concerned with the same subjects. Indeed, from their writings we can get a fairly clear picture of the times, and we find it resembling in some respects that which could be drawn from our own. There were then great social, economic, and industrial questions, and great problems of international relations; and it was these that the prophets made the subject of their declarations.

There was then, however, no government which the people themselves could use; so the prophets at first uttered warnings to the kings and princes, or hoped for the coming of better things through the harsh agency of some invading foreign power; but later, abandoning the expectation of any immediate improvement, they foretold the coming of a time when there would be a government of justice. For a time they thought of this as confined to the Hebrew people; but later they included all peoples within its scope. Under that government there would be no unfair advantages, but every one would have his own home; there would be no injustice in judgments between man and man, but the judgments would be righteous judgments; there would be no more wars of conquest, but in place of the deserts made waste by war there would be irrigated fields, and cultivated ground with an abundance of trees; and poverty would disappear in the widespread prosperity secured by just laws. All this, however, was to be dependent upon the establishment of government on a new basis, unknown then in "any nation"—a basis of service. The "commander of the people" was to be a "servant."

And this change, moreover, was to be the result of a real religious faith: "Is such the fast that I have chosen? the day for a man to afflict his soul? Is it to bow down his head as a rush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? wilt thou call this a fast, and an acceptable day to the Lord? Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo the bands of the yoke, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? when thou seest the naked, that thou cover him; and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh?" This is what one of the prophets said to his nation. This change in the social order he regarded as the very essence of religion.

When John the Baptist came, he declared that this new sort of government, a veritable kingdom of heaven, of which the prophets had spoken, was about to take its rise; and he told the people that if any of them wished to take part in ushering in this kingdom they must show their sincerity by practicing its principles individually. Among those who came to John the Baptist was a carpenter, Jesus of Nazareth.

For the remaining few years of his life Jesus devoted himself to this idea. When he made his first public address he an-

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nounced his purpose by quoting from one of the prophets a programme of service that described the character of the kingdom. By the standards of this new social order he tested the character of every individual. It was high praise from him to be told that one was not far from this kingdom. Virtually all his teaching had this kingdom, this new order of society, as its center. It was for the coming of this kingdom on earth that he bade his disciples to pray. It was in the light of this kingdom that he made clear the meaning of the commandments. It was to devote themselves to bringing about this kingdom that he trained his followers to prepare themselves. About him he saw rulers and governments devoted to oppression and tyranny. The rulers of the world as it then was were devoted to the aggrandizement of their own power. Their spirit was the very opposite of the spirit that was to prevail in the new order—for in the kingdom of heaven those in authority were to be servants of all. The test of the success of the kingdom was to be the advance in this spirit of service. By that test the lives of men were to be judged. Even the least service—the giving of a cup of cold water—would advance this kingdom. When he saw men engaged in an oppressive traffic, getting money for themselves out of the religious observances of the poor, he blazed forth with anger, and, taking matters in his own hands, overturned their tables and let loose the animals they had for sale. By the use that men made of their opportunities to serve their fellow-men, not by their profession of faith, he declared that they would be judged. The greater their power, the greater, he said, would be their responsibility for the welfare of others, and the greater their condemnation if they failed to use their power for human welfare; while, if they used their power in the service of their fellows, their reward would be more power for more service. He warned his disciples that they must not expect to see this new order taking form rapidly. It would come slowly, he explained, and mixed with a great deal of evil; but it would come certainly.

For nearly two thousand years it has been coming. One reason why it has been so slow in coming is that the Church has allowed itself to be led into seeking other things than the kingdom of God and his righteousness. It has often attempted to shift its responsibility by translating the kingdom to another world; and though it has kept praying for the coming of the kingdom on earth, it has not always kept working as it prayed. The kingdom of heaven, the new social order on earth, however, has been coming appreciably nearer. The idea that the strong should serve the weak has long ago ceased to be an extraordinary view. Before the advance of this idea, slavery has disappeared from Christendom and hospitals have arisen. And now the very principles of government are the opposite of those that prevailed two thousand years ago. Hardly any ruler, whether he be called king or president, could hold his place in Europe or America except on the theory that he is servant of all. The powers of government are no longer acknowledged to be the possession of a few for their own aggrandizement, but the prerogative of all for the service of all. Now when the traveler falls among thieves he is not left to the personal assistance of some stranger. There exists a governmental power that can be invoked not only to take him to the hospital, but also to police the road and apprehend the thieves. The man who knows there are thieves on the road and yet fails to bring evidence before the government to protect future travelers is as unfit for the kingdom as the priest and Levite who passed by.

Once human power and human wisdom available for the service of man were fairly well represented by the means used by the good Samaritan—a little oil and a little wine as healing agents, a beast of burden, and an inn. Now human power and wisdom available for human service are fairly represented by the physician, the railway, and the modern hospital, and by such great instruments as those to which our correspondent refers: uniform laws, provision of proper education, means of conciliation and arbitration, equitable distribution of the products of industry, etc. Once the man received his injuries before he was succored; now he finds that other men are struggling to prevent the evils from befalling him. Once it was a lone stranger, even a Samaritan, on whom he had to depend for help; now he finds coming to his rescue a mighty force, a great federal body of millions of Christians. Once it was only a man here and there who could be lifted up and restored; now hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children can be relieved at once.

Never was the Church so near to doing what it is its chief business to do as it is to-day.

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VICTORIOUS BULGARIA

BY ALBERT EDWARDS

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT OF THE OUTLOOK

From Sofia, the capital of victorious Bulgaria, comes this fourth article by The Outlook's special correspondent. It supplements his articles from the capital cities of Greece and Turkey by a view of the war as it was regarded in Sofia after the fighting was over, for a time at least.—THE EDITORS.

IN the West of Europe and in America, Progressive Democracy is opposed to war. In France especially the fear of Cæsarism, of a new "Man on Horseback," has forced many of the progressives into denunciations of the military spirit, as the chief impediment to the development of free democracy.

Bulgaria has one of the most progressive constitutions in the world. There is universal male suffrage, and a single legislative chamber. But of more vital importance than the form of their institutions is the spirit of the people. The great mass cultivate the soil. There are less than a hundred agricultural properties of over two hundred and fifty acres. But out of the 700,000 odd families of the nation, 550,000 own their farms. There is no other country in which wealth is so evenly divided. Bulgarian democracy, protected by its liberal constitution, does not have to fear an uncontrolled autocracy. It has no landed aristocracy to fight. As yet no industrial plutocracy has grown up to threaten its existence. Bulgaria is as free in form and spirit as any democracy the race has achieved.

And yet the nation was unanimous for this war. Probably the time when "Czar Ferdinand" has acted in the most open opposition to the will of his people was when he refused to declare war in 1908.

The spirit of democracy which has pushed the Government of Bulgaria into this campaign differentiates this war from any which the world has seen in many a long year.

During the last few months almost every capital in Europe has seen an imposing demonstration of the dislike which democracy has for war. Most of the armed conflicts of recent years have been dynastic affairs, the outcome of the ambitions of a few—what the Germans call "*Kabinetspolitik.*" And all those political parties which favor the rule of the people are definitely pacific.

But the opposing paradox offered by the progressive democracy of Bulgaria is easily explained. Here every person over thirty-four years of age was born a Turkish serf. Only an artificial line separates the country from what was, two months ago, the Turkish province of Macedonia. There are no Bulgars, man, woman, or child, who have not seen "refugees," who have not heard the "victims" tell, in the mother tongue, stories of murder and rapine. Most of these stories are too abhorrent to be told in English. So the accounts we have read in our papers of Macedonian atrocities have been not only condensed—they have been also expurgated. But till one has heard them in all their detail it is impossible to understand the spirit of these people.

They took me the other day to see a young woman of twenty-five who looked sixty. She told me her story in English, for she had been educated in the American Mission School for girls near Constantinople. Married at twenty, she had gone with her husband across the border to open a school in a little Bulgar village of Macedonia. One evening the Bashi-Bazouks came through on a raid. They stripped the clothes from the schoolteacher and his wife and bound them to trees with their arms outstretched in mockery of the Crucifixion. What happened to her baby daughter the woman does not know; perhaps they dropped her down the well, or threw her to the pigs; they may have taken her off to be a slave in a harem. But the woman saw her husband tortured to death before her eyes. The brutes, having finished with him, were just turning their attention to her when one of the Bulgarian Bands came up to the rescue. My friends tell me that most of the time this woman is all right, but that sometimes her mind wanders and she thinks that she is a young girl again on the eve of her marriage.

Ever since the year of their independence, 1878, it has been over and over again the same story, and worse; for this woman was more lucky than most Bulgar women who fell into the hands of the Bashi-Bazouks.

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Never a year has passed when some new outrage in Macedonia has not sent some more refugees across the border to find shelter among their "Free Brothers"—refugees with bodies mutilated, their hair gone gray, their minds awry.

I recall listening to stories about our Civil War when I was a child. Some of the old Abolitionists used to come to our house. They felt that all the death and destruction of the sixties was a small price to pay for putting an end to human slavery. For the Bulgars this is not a matter of righting the wrongs of another race. They are fighting to emancipate their own flesh and blood. And the stories I have heard here from the refugees are worse than anything that Mrs. Stowe could find to put into "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

Since their own liberation in 1878 the Bulgars of the North have never wavered from the purpose of freeing all their people from the Turks. At great sacrifice, with immense patience and amazing skill, they have organized themselves into an army. When the great day came, every one was ready. Every one knew what was expected of him, and there was no indecision, no slip-up in any arrangement. The men were not driven to the colors. They raced to the recruiting centers. When the mobilization order was issued on September 30, the army officials—on the basis of what they had learned in the military schools of western Europe—expected 75 per cent of the men on their lists to report: 92 per cent responded to the call. By October 17 the mobilization had been completed and the army, in three divisions, was concentrated on the frontier, everything ready for the advance. This, in a country of so few railways, was unprecedented speed. The next day war was declared. And now one male in every four is under arms. This little country, with a population—exclusive of Turks—of less than New York City, has half a million men in the field.

When I entered Bulgaria, all of us whose passports showed that we came from Constantinople were told that we would have to pass a medical examination. The doctor did not look eighteen. I was sure he could not have had more than one year in medical school. I was last in the line, and I watched with amusement his examination of those ahead of me. He was looking for cholera and he used a stethoscope! When my turn came, I asked him if he spoke French or English. Yes, he spoke French; he had been in the École de Medicine at Paris when he was called home at the outbreak of hostilities.

"You come from Constantinople?" he asked. "Have you got cholera?"

"I don't think so."

"Have you been exposed to it?" He was trying to be dignified and a bit severe.

"Oh, yes," I said; "I visited some of the hospitals."

His pompous pretense dropped at once, before the chance to get some information.

"Then you've seen cholera cases. What are the symptoms?"

We became friends. When I had given him the very little cholera lore I possess, he invited me to his home for dinner. He came to the hotel to fetch me.

"I believe in the equality of men and women," he broke out with his youthful impetuousness. "The law is stupid. It requires that the Doctor of the Port should be a man. Now there's my sister, she has graduated in medicine. She could do the work here better than I—and then I could go to the front. But no. It's the law. She's gone as a nurse. It certainly would be wiser to have a real doctor here than me. And a man is worth more in the field than a nurse."

It was a medical family. The father also was a doctor, and was, of course, away at the war. There were only my young host and his mother at dinner. She was a placid, sweet-faced woman of near fifty, who spoke no language but Bulgar. She served the meal, which she had evidently cooked. The young doctor-to-be explained that they generally kept a cook and a maid, but had had to let them go back to their village, as they were needed to plow and sow. Their menfolk also were with the colors.

All through the meal and late into the evening he plied me with questions. What had I seen in Greece? How did things look in Constantinople? Would the Turks sign the peace?

In spite of her protests, we helped the mother wash up the dinner dishes, and when we returned to the sitting-room she settled down to her sewing. She was mending a mourning dress.

"Has your mother lost a relative?" I asked.

"Oh, we don't know," the boy answered. "You see, the Government does not publish the list of dead and wounded. And the

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soldiers at the front are not allowed to write. So we don't know. But, you see, there are so many of us with the army. There is father, and mother's two brothers, and three of her sons—my brothers—and my sister. Surely we will lose some of them. It is the same with all the women here; they are preparing their weeds. There will be very few houses that are not in mourning when it is over."

The Bulgars have made a military instrument of secrecy in a war—something never done before. Certainly the success of their army would not have been so rapid if the Turks had had foreknowledge of the Balkan Alliance. Gradually the history of the campaign is coming out. The amazing victory at Kirk Kilisse was hardly a battle at all—it was a surprise. The fortifications planned to resist a long siege were taken in a few hours. TheTurks had no idea that the Bulgars were in the neighborhood. So effective was the secrecy of their movements guarded that from October 2 till the 24th—the day they took Kirk Kilisse—the location of the main army was unknown at Sofia. Of course if the soldiers had been sending letters home all the world would have known where they were. The war correspondents are peevish because their movements have been interfered with and their despatches censored, but the military attachés are enthusiastic over the skill with which every movement was concealed.

But this business of not publishing the lists of killed and wounded entails an immense amount of suffering—the agony of suspense. Whatever its advantages, a less stoical people would certainly protest. I have not heard any one complain. The Bulgars have entire confidence in the wisdom of their Government. For many years they have been looking forward to this struggle, have prepared themselves to suffer to endure even this hardship of silence.

The railway stations these days present a sight it will be hard to forget. The platform is a dense mass of silent peasant women. They come to meet the daily train in the hope that some wounded soldier from their village will be aboard and give the news of their husbands and sons and lovers.

The wounded privates and officers bring back from the front the most conflicting stories. It is notorious that eye-witnesses of battles are poor historians. A modern campaign is on much too big a scale for one pair of eyes. I have been much impressed by one officer who is surprised at the unanimous praise which all the war correspondents have been giving to the Bulgarian artillery. He was not wounded until they reached Tchataldja, and so he saw most of the campaign. He insists that the Turks outpointed them in cannon fire in every engagement. The condition of the roads, he says, was so bad that their artillery never reached the front in time. I heard exactly the opposite in Constantinople. I judge that the artillery played an unusually large part on both sides. Of the wounded here in the hospitals at least thirty per cent were hit by shrapnel, which is an extremely high percentage.

But although there is much dispute and there are many conflicting statements on this and similar points, all the officers agree that the military academy theory that the day of bayonet charges is over has been proved false. Almost every decisive engagement was won by cold steel. The Bulgar private prefers the bayonet to all other weapons.

I was sitting with a group of wounded officers the other night, and one of them told me this story:

"Our regiment was ordered to charge a line of breastworks, to draw the fire of the field-guns. We were not expected to take the redoubt—only to mask the main movement. It was a sort of 'suicide party.'

"There was a mile of clear country—hardly any cover—between our trenches and the enemy. I called my men to attention and pointed out the works we were to charge. One of the corporals—a chap from my village, about my age—spoke up.

"'My captain! Is it bayonets?'

"'We're a mile away,' I said. 'We'll have plenty of time to put on the bayonets.'

"The moment we showed our heads hell broke loose. There is nothing on earth that makes a worse noise than shrapnel. About a quarter of the way we found a little ravine; we waited there in the shelter for the other companies of the regiment to catch up. As soon as he had caught his breath the corporal began at me again:

"'Oh, my captain! Bayonets, please.'

"I told him that he was a fool; we had three-quarters of a mile to go yet.

"'Oh, no, my captain,' he said, 'it is not so far. It is only a little way.'

"It is a habit with our peasants when you ask them how far it is to the next village they will always answer like that: 'It is only a little way.'

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"I crept forward to a little hill to look over the fields we had to cross, and when I rejoined my men I found that they had put on their bayonets without waiting for the order.

"'My captain,' the corporal said, 'we run better with the bayonets.'

"It was rank insubordination, but what could I do? It was what the diplomats call '*un fait accompli*.' And then the signal came to charge."

"Wasn't it there," I asked, "that you got your wound?"

"Yes; just as we went over the top of their redoubt."

The rest of them told similar stories of desperate but successful bayonet charges. And then one told of quite a different sort of exploit. He had been out of the hospital for some time, and, although his arm was still in a sling, he had reported for service and had been put at inglorious but necessary clerical work in the recruiting office. The "Class of 1914" has just been called to the colors. They are youngsters of nineteen years.

"There is not one in twenty of them," the officer said, "who cannot read and write. And whenever one of them admits that he can't, all the rest in the room make fun of him."

The impressive thing was that these young officers were as proud of this victory over ignorance as they were of the tales they had told of the bravery of their soldiers.

After all, it is a more momentous story. In 1879 these people were Turkish serfs. Nine years after the emancipation they had 125,000 children in the primary schools. By 1907 the number had risen to 334,000. And to-day a young man of nineteen who cannot read and write is laughed at by his mates. In a recent article I spoke of the amazing progress the Greeks have made in popular education. But the Bulgars, with only thirty-four years of freedom, against eighty, have caught up with them. In one way the Bulgars have passed them. They are educating their women. In 1887 only 23 per cent of the children in primary schools were girls. By 1907 the percentage had risen to 45. To-day almost as many girls as boys are being educated. Even the oldest countries of southern and eastern Europe cannot equal this record.

In all those phases of life which are covered by what we call "social legislation," Bulgaria is far ahead of most of our States. The law of March 31, 1905, created government insurance against accident and sickness for all public employees. Another law on private industry assures similar insurance to all workingmen. A maximum has been fixed for the hours of labor for women; they are excluded from the more dangerous and degrading trades. There is a very good "child labor law." The code of factory hygiene and the use of safety devices on dangerous machines is modern and is enforced.

As yet the country is overwhelmingly agricultural, but the Government has taken time by the forelock, and industrial life which must eventually spring up in this land of rich mines and abundant water power will begin at the point of social legislation that we in older countries are striving desperately to attain.

Although the criminal population of Bulgaria is very small, the penal system is the most intelligent I have ever studied. They have indeterminate sentence and parole, and probation for first offenders.

Advocates of advanced democracy all the world over maintain that the only way to fit people for self-government is to give it to them. Bulgaria furnishes strong argument for this proposition. The first years of this untrammeled democracy—with none of our "checks and balances"—were rather chaotic. Some of the trouble was undoubtedly due to political inexperience, but far more of it was caused by the intrigue of foreign diplomats. Only one generation has passed, and the chaos has disappeared. The main task which the young Bulgar nation set for itself was the liberation of its oppressed brothers. This is the test by which the success or failure of their institutions must be judged. This whirlwind campaign gives the verdict. They have acquired a government which understands the national will and has organized its execution.

There is no question in the minds of any of the people here with whom I talked that Czar Ferdinand has been a very valuable asset to the Bulgarian democracy. He has no greater constitutional power than the King of England. But his personal influence is immense.

He is a remarkable man in many ways. Rather over-refined, one would say at first, to get along well with this nation of simple and somewhat rude peasants. I have heard it said that he is not so popular personally as was the first Prince—Alexander of Batten-

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berg. He is rather remote. But he has won universal respect and loyalty.

Probably the largest element of the success he has won is the spirit of realism derived from his love of the exact sciences. He deals with men and parties and political passions as a chemist mingles his salts and acids in a test-tube, as he himself does with the plants he crosses and develops in the wonderful horticultural laboratory which is his summer palace. There is no phase of life which suffers so much from loose thinking, from sodden prejudices and shoddy traditions, as does this business of politics. The kings and presidents are rare who, like Czar Ferdinand, bring the clear vision, the steady hand, of the trained scientist to the affairs of government.

Outside of Bulgaria one hears him praised most often as a skilled diplomat. The last few months he has come before the world as the chief of an amazingly efficient army. But he has given the same intense study, the same patient care, to the development of ways of communication as he has to the development of his country's military strength. If one eye has been fixed on the diplomatic barometer of Europe, the other eye has watched as closely the growth of the Agricultural Bank, which furnishes cheap credit to the farmers and has freed them from the usury which is the plague of Russia.

Undoubtedly Czar Ferdinand has been a great asset to the young voter. But the development of the country has not been a "one-man job." Ferdinand has found a remarkable group of native Bulgarians to help him in government. And here we of the United States have the right to be not a little proud. A surprisingly large number of the men who are directing the affairs of Bulgaria are graduates of Robert College, near Constantinople. Three members of the Cabinet, the Ministers of the Interior, of Commerce and Industry, of Public Instruction, the Ministers to London and Berlin, the Chief of the Intendance of the army, the Mayor of Sofia, the Counselor-General of the Department of Foreign Affairs, the Chief of the Consular Service, the Secretary of the Council of Ministers, the Manager of the Agricultural Bank—not to mention a host of others—received their education from American teachers. They are all quick to express their gratitude.

It is a great regret that the United States has no Minister or Consul in Bulgaria. American capital would be very welcome here. For many years to come the peasants will use their savings in improving their farms. To develop her rich coal and iron and copper mines, to carry out her plans of railway-building, and for the extensive public work necessary in the newly acquired territories, Bulgaria will have to find capital abroad.

It is only with reluctance that she will borrow in Europe—finance and politics are too closely interwoven here. She does not want to get involved in diplomatic tangles like those that embarrassed Turkey in connection with the Bagdad Railroad. The greatest danger these new countries of the Balkans have to face is the threat of economic domination. If they would enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with France, the banks of Paris would lend them all the money they wanted—in just the same way that the Republic bought the Russian alliance. Austria or Germany offers them money on similar terms. Their only chance of getting loans on a purely financial basis—without any political *quid pro quo*—seems to be in America.

The distrust of Europe and its diplomats is very real here—and on the whole it is justified. For centuries these people appealed to Christendom for help against the Moslem oppressor. The help did not come until at last Russia came down through the Balkans and drove the Turks within the walls of Constantinople. The European diplomats at Berlin forbade the liberation of all the Bulgars. They divided the race up into three parts and gave two of them back to the Turks. And so 1878, their year of independence, is also inevitably connected in their minds with the great injustice which Europe did to their people. It is the same with all the important dates of their history. Each step in their development is closely associated with a wrong done to them by one or another of the Great Powers. In 1885, when they doubled their territory by absorbing Eastern Rumelia, it had to be done in defiance of Europe. But perhaps their worst disillusionment came from the big sister Slavic nation which gave them their first freedom. The enthusiasm of the Bulgars for the Czar liberator was at first frantic. But very quickly it became evident that the Great White Bear intended to digest them. They had to defend their new-won liberties from their too hungry liberator.

They had to accept the abdication of

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Alexander of Battenberg, whom they loved dearly but who lacked the courage to defy the Powers of Europe. They had to accept for several years the dictatorship of Stambouloff—preferring a native despot to the Russian Czar. In 1887, when they chose Ferdinand to be their prince, it was once more in the face of Europe. He was an outlaw for nine years. It was not until 1896 that he was recognized by the other sovereigns of Europe. And when in 1908 he threw off his allegiance to the Sultan and proclaimed the independence of the Bulgarian Kingdom—it had been independent in fact, if not in name, for many years—it was once more in spite of Europe. And this war, which is not yet definitely finished, but which seems to have completed already the liberation of the Bulgars, was undertaken against the advice of all of Christendom.

It has never happened that what the Bulgars believe to be their "manifest destiny" has had the support of the Powers. And now that, since their imposing victories, every one is fawning on them, they are as distrustful as ever.

"We are a young people," they say; "we have not yet reached our full strength. First of all we must finish with the Turk." It is rather hard to get them to talk about their plans for the more remote future—they are so desperately interested in the present crisis. First of all they must finish with the Turks and "consolidate" their newly liberated territory. "And then," they say, "we must be careful—on the alert. Our biggest neighbor is our outspoken enemy. But we must be on our guard not only against open enemies but also against the intrigues of false friends. Yes. We must be very watchful."

I like the Bulgars I have met. They are a hard-headed, straightforward, enterprising people—with a most amazing tenacity of purpose. And it is pleasant to find that their general hostility towards the older nations does not include us. Many of them have formed their estimate of us from the teachers they learned to respect at Robert College. Uncle Sam has never done them a wrong. It is very pleasant to find in this out-of-the-way corner of Europe a people who respect us, who have studied our history, have read our books, and honor our institutions.

It is to be hoped that this friendly relation will endure and grow more intimate.

Sofia, Bulgaria.

THE MENTAL HYGIENE MOVEMENT

A NATIONAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST INSANITY

BY HENRY FARRAND GRIFFIN

HAVE you ever seen the human wreckage of a great city cast up in its police courts?

It is not a pretty sight—this by-product of our modern industrial civilization. It is human nature in the raw. Mentally and morally it is barbarism, the more terrible because it lacks utterly the physical strength and beauty of pure barbarism, because it holds no promise of a race's evolution, having rather all the sinister aspects of devolution.

In ever-increasing quantities in every great city of the civilized world there comes to the police courts day after day the same grist of sordid poverty, petty crime, drunkenness, prostitution, misery and disease, physical, mental, and moral.

Few intelligent observers who are brought into intimate contact with the lower criminal courts will deny that a very large number of the cases coming before these tribunals are more fit for physicians and medical treatment than for judges and prison sentences. Several years of newspaper work gave me good opportunity to study the New York police courts at close range, and I know that a very large proportion of the cases I reported impressed me in some aspect or other as more truly pathological than criminal.

One came, indeed, to recognize a sort of police court type, which usually yielded, upon investigation, some symptom of disease, physical or mental—most often the latter. The reporter in the hit-or-miss scramble of his work naturally has scant time for careful analysis of these cases. And the magistrates

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and judges, overwhelmed by the number of cases that clog their courts, have little better opportunity for adequate investigation.

The net result of these conditions, however, is exhibited in rather startling fashion in a story recently told by Justice Franklin C. Hoyt, of the New York Children's Court.

"I think it is true," he said, "that those who have to do with courts and offenders are being more and more convinced that a considerable proportion of criminals are such because of an actual defect of mind. I would not imply that all crime is due to mental disease, nor, perhaps, that the greater part of it is from that cause. But in a great many cases the criminal is simply a man who has something left out of his mentality, some part of the moral machinery which is missing, the lack of which can be positively determined by tests and examination on the part of a specialist fitted to diagnose physical and mental disease."

"Now, let me tell you a story," continued Justice Hoyt. "Three or four years ago, when I was sitting in special sessions, my associates and I had occasion to sentence a young man who had been found guilty of petty larceny. In pronouncing sentence I said: 'I am convinced from the evidence that has been brought out here that you are lacking in moral sense, that at the end of your prison term you will go out and commit more crimes. It is a wrong to the community that you should be so set at liberty, and it is a wrong to you that you should be allowed to follow your course without restraint.'

"One of the parents of my young man—he was barely twenty-one—told me tearfully that he was a good boy, the best of boys, but that he had been in bad company and tempted too far. Before he had served out his term his parent came to me again to tell me that now he had promised to reform and how well he was doing. I still had my doubts.

"To-day that young man is under sentence of death for murder. His name is Harry Horowitz, alias 'Gyp the Blood.'

"His moral deficiency was so obvious that even I, without any formal scientific examination whatever, knew him for a born criminal. If there had been provision for his confinement and care as a defective and a menace to society, then he would at least have been saved from the end of a murderer, and the ranks of the 'gunmen' would have lost one of their typical members."

There, indeed, is a typical case. The entire country was startled and shocked by the revelations of the underworld during the Becker trial and the police investigations which followed the murder of the gambler Rosenthal. But as a matter of fact there was little brought to light during these trials and investigations that was actually new. The dramatic manner of the assassination and the startling revelations of corrupt police complicity gave the story the "news value" that spread it broadcast over the country, but the conditions which breed these crimes and criminals were ancient history to those whose business brings them into close contact with the police courts of New York and other great American cities.

For the specter of the modern city dweller's wholesale physical and mental impairment walks daily in these human scrap-heaps, and no one can long watch that gloomy phantasmagoria without realizing that these conditions are a menace to our civilization. The evils are so vast in extent, they spread their roots in so many ramifications through the industrial and political foundations of society, that an attempt even to survey their extent is discouraging. A few weeks ago, I confess, I should have hesitated about suggesting remedies.

Since that time, however, it has been my privilege to study a movement, or rather a campaign of education, which promises to strike at the very roots of some of the worst of these ancient evils. It has been like a message of hope where I could before see nothing but gloom and despair. It has explained many things that had previously puzzled me in the mentally defective police court type. It points the way, I believe, to a permanent solution of many of these difficult problems.

I refer to the Mental Hygiene movement, a well-organized endeavor to reduce the alarming amount of mental impairment in the United States. This movement is being advanced and directed by the National Committee of Mental Hygiene. It includes not only a Nation-wide campaign of education, but also preventive social service with individuals threatened with mental breakdown, and a medical survey of institutions caring for the insane in the United States.

A Mental Hygiene Exhibit, the first extensive exhibit on mental diseases ever shown in any country, has been prepared by experts and is now being sent from city to city about the country. No one interested in sociologi-

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cal questions, or indeed in the future of our country, should fail to attend this Exhibit if opportunity offers.

I imagine that the first impression of the average layman who visits the Exhibit will be, as mine was, shock and astonishment at the prevalence of mental disease in the United States.

Would it startle you to learn that one out of every two hundred persons of the population either has had, or will have, some kind of mental disorder?

It is not a very pleasant fact to face—but it is true.

Do you know that the last census showed there were 187,454 insane persons in institutions in the United States?

It is true. And this number is increasing rather than decreasing.

Do you know that the cost of caring for the patients in these institutions is over $32,000,000 a year?

This sum is a conservative estimate—and it is greater than the Government's expenditure this year on the Panama Canal, the greatest engineering work in the world's history.

Do you know that a State like New York, which cares adequately for its insane, has to devote approximately one-quarter of its total expenditure to that purpose?

These are the facts and figures that will jump at you from graphic charts and diagrams as you enter the Exhibit. The information is presented in a fashion that grips the imagination as no cold array of statistics could do. It will impress upon you the sober realization that there is here presented a problem of National gravity.

Yet it is not a message of discouragement which the Exhibit is carrying about the country. It is rather a message of hope. The evil which we know and understand we may hope to conquer. Mental disease for too long has been one of the terrors which struck men down from out the darkness of ignorance.

As Dr. Stewart Paton, under whose direction the Exhibit was prepared, said, in addressing the recent Mental Hygiene Conference in New York City:

"The legends and figures on the charts, the words addressed to you by the various speakers, should not, even in our imagination, be permitted to spell disaster. . . . We must discuss disease in order that we may know how to cure it, and, above all, how to prevent its occurrence."

"And above all, how to prevent"—that is the keynote of the Exhibit, and, indeed, of the whole Mental Hygiene movement. More and more modern medical science has learned that the surest, safest cure is prevention. Thus the present campaign against insanity is undertaken in line with every recent successful war upon disease. We have learned that tuberculosis can be cured if taken in time, but, better far, we have learned that it can be absolutely prevented by stamping out the sources of infection. We know little more about the treatment of yellow fever, but we do know that this disease is caused solely by infection through the bite of a certain species of mosquito. By stamping out the breeding-grounds of these mosquitoes we can stamp out yellow fever.

So, too, with the fight against mental disease. There is not so much hope in the treatment of to-day's cases as there is in the prevention of the first causes which would otherwise lead to cases of mental disorder in future years.

In the Mental Hygiene Exhibit, therefore, the utmost emphasis is laid upon the primary causes of insanity and mental defects. Typical cases are graphically outlined from beginning to end in charts and diagrams. Causes and methods of prevention are also indicated. The part that heredity plays in insanity is shown by tracing specific families down from a mentally defective ancestor, noting the cases of mentally defective descendants and their histories. In this section there is one chart which impressed me more than anything else in the Exhibit. It shows the descendants (under fictitious names) of a famous Revolutionary soldier both by a normal woman and by a woman mentally defective. The descendants of the normal woman are *all* normal. The descendants of the mentally defective woman, as far as it is possible to trace them, show a very high percentage of mental defectiveness and a large number of criminal records.

That little chart brought me up short. The unhappy faces of the police courts came back to me, and I wondered how many of those cases which I had seen dealt with as criminal would have shown, upon a careful investigation, mentally defective ancestry.

Everywhere one turns about this remarkable Exhibit, charts, diagrams, and photographs suggest a hundred similar thoughts. Near the miniature psychiatric clinic, where the Binet-Simon tests for the mental grading

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of children and defectives are exhibited, a blank face stares at one from the wall, and the question in those pitiful eyes is repeated in the legend below:

This man, the son of a feeble-minded woman, is twenty-two years old, but mentally he is only seven years old.

He perceives, thinks, and directs his actions as a boy of seven does.

If he breaks laws or fails to live up to a man's responsibilities, shall he be punished, this man whose mind did not grow, or shall he be dealt with as a boy would be for the same offense?

What is the responsibility of the community which permitted him to be born and which failed to make provision for him in a suitable institution?

You turn to the little psychiatric clinic and witness the simple tests which have indicated in experiments made in New Jersey that one out of every three hundred school children is mentally defective. You learn that examinations of children in the special classes for backward children in Rochester, New York, and other cities have shown that more than seventy-five per cent of these children are backward on account of mental defect.

There is something fascinating about the simplicity of these tests, known as the "Binet-Simon measuring scale for intelligence." Devised a few years ago by the celebrated French psychologists Binet and Simon, they are now in use in practically every civilized country, and have been proved in practice amazingly accurate. By their use degrees of intelligence may be measured with almost the nicety that a thermometer registers temperatures.

There are tests for each year of age from three to thirteen. If a child succeeds in the tests corresponding to his age, he is mentally normal. If he can succeed only in those given for a child a year younger than he, he is backward to the extent of one year, and, similarly, for two and three years. If the child is more than three years backward, he is mentally defective. There are also tests for the adult which are successfully passed by the normal child of fifteen years.

Normal children of three years, for instance, are able to repeat sentences of six syllables and know their first names. When asked, "Where is your nose? Your eyes? Your mouth?" they respond by appropriate gesture. The normal child of four years knows its sex and can tell which is the longer of two parallel lines. Children of five know which is the heavier of two objects of different weights. At six children know the difference between their right and left hands. And so the tests go up to the comparatively difficult feats of intelligence which are required of the normal adult.

As a word of caution it may be added that these tests have little value or significance unless made by experts. The form and manner in which the questions are put to the child are of the greatest importance in securing accurate results.

The Binet-Simon tests are also used for the classification of mentally defective adults. Adults who cannot pass the tests for the physical age of three years are classed as idiots, those who have the intelligence of normal children between four and seven are classed as imbeciles, those who pass the tests for children between eight and twelve are classed as feeble-minded.

Any one who doubts that a very large proportion of so-called criminals are in reality mentally defective will find food for thought in the fact that, upon the examination of adults in a number of reformatories, between thirty and forty per cent of the inmates failed to pass the Binet-Simon tests for the physical age of fifteen. Some of the adults examined were graded by the tests at the mental age of five. This means that men too feeble in intellect to know the difference between their right and left hands, or between morning and afternoon, are being *punished as criminals*. Judge Hoyt's story of "Gyp the Blood" is sufficient commentary on this theory of criminal responsibility and its results.

The injustice of conditions like these is no more terrible than their cost to the community which permits them. It is estimated that, aside from the insane under proper care and treatment, there are at the present time between two and three hundred thousand mentally defective persons in the United States, and of this number only ten per cent are in proper institutions. Future generations will even in greater measure pay the penalty of our failure to provide for the segregation of these unfortunates. Their children in the majority of cases will inherit their mental defects, and the Nation an ever-increasing legacy of destitution and crime.

Less serious as a National problem with its menace to future generations, but no less shameful to a people which calls itself civilized, are some of the exhibits showing the neglect of the insane existing in many States to-day. In some of the more enlightened

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States of the Union the care given to the insane is a matter of just pride, but there are many communities in which there is sore need of a public awakening. Dr. Salmon, of the United States Public Health Service, who has been granted leave of absence that he may direct for the National Committee for Mental Hygiene a general survey of conditions among the insane, thus expresses the situation:

"It is a fact that every stage in the long and painful history of the care of the insane from 1537, when the first institution for the insane was provided in England, to the present time can be witnessed in some American community to-day. Care in county almshouses, which was abolished forever in New York State in 1890, still exists in some form in fourteen States."

Insane men and women *chained and shackled*, herded together like cattle, conditions of wretchedness and degradation too horrible to print in these pages—these are the things that are tolerated in several States to-day.

Let any one who thinks these statements exaggerated visit the office of the National Committee in New York and read some of the records of inspections and reports there on file. It is for this, if for no other reason, that I sincerely hope that the necessary funds will be found to send the Mental Hygiene Exhibit into every State of the Union. If these facts were once generally known, the result would be an aroused public opinion which would speedily force much-needed reforms.

Indeed, the exhibits of the discarded and discredited straitjacket and other gruesome instruments of mechanical restraint seem like a chamber of horrors when compared to the photographs showing the modern methods and care in which the trained nurse has replaced the keeper, and the use of hydrotherapy, or immersion in warm baths, has made unnecessary the forcible restraint of violent patients.

Some of the exhibits of this nature seemed to me to come pretty close to the border line between what is proper information for the physician and medical student and what is proper for the general public. More especially is this true, I think, in some of the charts and diagrams which give premonitory symptoms of various mental disorders. A little medical knowledge is sometimes dangerous for the layman. However, neither Dr. Paton, who prepared the Exhibit, nor Dr. Salmon, of the National Committee, believes that any serious harm can be done in this way. In general Dr. Salmon makes out a strong case for the need of educating the general public in regard to mental disease.

"It is exactly this general lack of information regarding the causes of mental diseases," he told me, "that is responsible as much as anything else for the slow progress which has been made in the better care of the insane. It is a fact that one-third of all the patients who are admitted to institutions for the insane have had their disease at least a year. The reports of the New York State hospitals show that, for nearly ninety per cent of the patients who recovered last year, the duration of the mental disease had been less than a year before admission. The relation of these two facts is of tremendous importance. If we come to inquire particularly into the cause of this disastrous delay in obtaining treatment for mental cases, it is apparent that the principal cause is the lack of information regarding the means to be taken to secure treatment in an institution."

Certainly no more effective means than the Mental Hygiene Exhibit could be devised for presenting this information to the general public. The Exhibit is, moreover, only a part of a big campaign of education. It was first shown in Washington as a part of the general health exhibit of the International Congress on Hygiene, which was attended by delegates from twenty-seven governments and forty-two States. The Exhibit was then taken to New York City, where it was the center of a general conference during which the public had an opportunity to hear authorities of National and international reputation speak on the various phases of mental hygiene. Physicians were in attendance to guide visitors through the Exhibit, and the amount of interest aroused is plainly shown by the fact that approximately 24,000 persons visited the Exhibit and attended a series of lectures on mental disorders and their prevention. There were special meetings for physicians, nurses, school-teachers, clergymen, and for parents.

It was apparent from the questions asked that one reason for the entirely unexpected public interest in the subject of mental hygiene was a personal one. Insanity is so prevalent that there are few families, if any, which are not touched by the personal side of the problem. It is, therefore, not surpris-

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ing that a great many of those who attended the Exhibit and Conference were led to do so by the fact that they had relatives or friends suffering from some form of mental disorder. Rather striking evidence of this is the fact that the few clinics for mental diseases in New York City were overcrowded during the latter days of the week by patients and others seeking advice.

Results like these show that this campaign of education is being organized along practical lines. With the Exhibit as a center, it is planned to extend the campaign as rapidly as possible throughout the country. The Exhibit will be sent during the winter to a number of large cities in the East and Middle West. In each of these centers an effort will be made to organize local Mental Hygiene Committees. In the States of New York, Illinois, and Connecticut the work is already well organized, with several years of useful work to the credit of the several committees.

The National Committee for Mental Hygiene was founded early in 1909, largely as the result of the pioneer work done in this field by Mr. Clifford W. Beers. After suffering an attack of mental disorder in 1900 and recovering from it three years later, Mr. Beers published in 1908, under the title "A Mind That Found Itself," an autobiographical account of his experiences and hardships while a patient in various private and public hospitals for the insane. On the merits of his book and purposes, Mr. Beers was able to enlist the support and co-operation of many of the Nation's representative men and women. Several of these later became charter members of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene.

It is a great and good work in which these earnest men and women are engaged. The vastness of the field has not discouraged them. An anonymous philanthropist's recent gift of $50,000 will enable a general survey of the field and the preliminary work of organizing local committees. The same donor has offered an additional gift of $50,000, as soon as $200,000 more has been secured from other sources, for the perpetuation of the important work planned. I know of no work more constructively philanthropic, more truly patriotic, than this good fight for the health and sanity of future generations.

Only a beginning has been made. There is pressing need for many more adequately equipped psychiatric clinics like that which Mr. Henry Phipps's generosity has given to Johns Hopkins University. Few American universities are prepared to give anything like the proper training for experts to man these much-needed psychiatric clinics. The student who now seeks to gain this training must go abroad. There is great need that more attention should be given to the subject of mental diseases in the medical schools, that the general practitioner may be better prepared to recognize incipient cases and aid in securing the proper treatment. There is sore need of better institutional care of the insane and feeble-minded. The laws in regard to the commitment of the insane are in many States chaotic, and in some absolutely dangerous to the public.

Last, but to my mind the most important, all backward children in public schools should be given careful mental examinations by competent examiners, and all juvenile delinquents should be given similar care. I hope that this will be the first step which will ultimately lead to the stationing of competently trained medical experts, not only in juvenile courts, but in all of the lower criminal courts. Moreover, the relation of crime and criminality to insanity and mental defectiveness must be studied carefully, so that the legal aspects of the problem may be made to conform more closely to its medical aspects.

These things cannot be done without spending large sums of money, but every community in the country is every day in increasing measure paying the penalty of its neglect of the insane and mentally defective—and is paying that penalty in dollars and cents, as well as in unhappiness and crime. I believe that every dollar spent in this campaign is in the best and truest sense a National economy.

It is, indeed, an ancient fight against ancient evils, though waged in a new and scientific spirit that promises ultimate success. For the end in view was voiced in the ideal of old, the "sound mind in a healthy body" for which Juvenal prayed. And should the Mental Hygiene movement ever stand in need of a watchword, I know of none better to suggest than that verse of the poet of long ago:

"Orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano."

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THE SPECTATOR

PROBABLY no single sin of the American traveler so excites the ire of his European critics as his tendency to execute quick skips about the map. "A week in London, four days in Paris, a sennight in Rome! Why, bless my soul, what a hurry you are in!" gasps the Briton as we spin by him. Now, the Spectator distinguishes between hurry and flitting, between the rush that crowds one sensation upon another—a coarse, crude cramming of sights—and the delicate skimming—rapid, superficial if you like, but infinitely rewarding—of the impressionist in travel.

Consider Cornwall—an old stamping-ground of the Spectator's. Just how long was he there? Well, to be exact, here's his thumby old diary: "Left Bristol for Penzance. Helston—the Lizard—Land's End"—by all that's upsetting, that golden autumn on the Cornish coast, reduced to calendar time, occupied just four days! Four days! And the memory of it will stand by him four times four years. Why, every pore of him was open every minute drinking in the Cornishness of things. That's why your native Briton can't get any Cornwall out of four days. It isn't strange enough to him. Impressions don't hit him hard enough. It takes a genuine outlander to experience Cornwall at first sight.

Take away all the rest and leave the Spectator one marvelous afternoon out on the moor, and still he would feel that Cornwall was his. It was Sunday, and the driver of the regular week-day coach had undertaken to carry the Spectator family off the beaten trail. A discerning young man, that driver, though he did sow dissension between husband and wife. Pointing a scornful thumb over his shoulder toward the Spectatorin, where she sat on the back seat, he complimented the Spectator on the purity of his accent. "Why," he said, enthusiastically, "you don't *begin* to talk Yankee like that lady do." But it was not the driver who made that day memorable, nor even the splendid old cromlech he found for his fares out near Lanyon. It was the Spectators' first contact with the work of neolithic man, and they were not at all prepared for the immense impressiveness of it out there alone in the silence and mystery of the wide moor. The Spectators firmly declined to take liberties with the hoary relic, though the Cornish driver assured them that the great three-legged stone mushroom was quite stanch enough to bear their weight if they chose to climb upon it. They didn't. Neither did they permit themselves to be kodaked leaning against the ancient stones.

But, as aforesaid, not even the cromlech made the heart of the experience. At no great distance from where they stood there was to be seen—according to the archæological lore of the driver—a written stone put up by yon Druid folk. Electing to go in pursuit, the Spectators were driven as far as the road served, and then dismissed to make the best of their way through the pathless furze and bracken to the neighborhood of a wee stone cottage whose roof just peered above the tangle in the distance. Well breathed with the climb, and plentifully scratched and torn by the waist-high bramble, they achieved the height, but prowled in vain looking for the ancient relic. Perhaps they were not very sorry to give up and knock at the cottage for guidance. A picturesque old Cornishman answered their knock. "Well," said he, "you'd good 'eart to push up 'ere. I'll show ye." As he stooped to grasp his staff where it lay on a bench by the door, a beautiful collie came bursting out of the jungle and bit softly, adoringly, at the old man's arm. "He do be proud to see me," laughed the old fellow in the pleased cackle of age. Following some invisible trail, he pushed on into the bristling jungle of gorse, so yellow in the pallid autumn sunshine that it made a golden dazzle in the eyes, and the outlanders followed gingerly in his wake. They were almost out of sight of the cottage when the Spectator noticed the collie peering wisely into the tangle, his pointed ears working. Presently he pounced, his lithe body describing an arc like a playful dolphin. "What's he after? Field-mice?" queried the Spectator. "Naw," drawled the old man, striding unconcernedly ahead. "Not field-mice. H'adders. He bain't no h'adder-killer, though, that dawg. They do be too quick for he!" Spectator and Spectatorin endeavored earnestly to stand

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upon nothing whatever while they inquired if adders were dangerous. "Aw, yes," said the Cornishman over his shoulder. "The doctors can cure ye ef ye get to 'em in time. But ef ye cain't," with a cackle, "there's an end on ye!" Judge how the outlanders relished the remainder of their passage through that suggestively rustling sea of gorse and heather!

The Spectator is not forgetting the rocks, the glory of Cornwall. Only he was perverse enough not to enjoy sharing them with other coaching trippers like himself. Always magnificent, whether they tower up in splintered pinnacles, or drop away sheer to the sea, or curve into crooked chasms with sea-gulls screaming round the deep sea-caves at their feet, the rocks of the coast were never so glorious as when one has them all to one's self. Except the Logan! What use to climb that ticklish ascent, what use to stir that balanced seventy tons of rocking stone, without an audience to applaud the exploit? Indeed, since Lieutenant Goldsmith tipped the Logan off its pinnacle early in the last century it has never rocked properly. It takes the evidence of the cautious souls who content themselves with watching others climb the headland to make the perspiring wretch with his shoulder under the granite believe he has stirred it at all. And then the thrilling descent, those awesome slides where nothing but the guide's practiced hand on his feet prevents the slider from tobogganing off into space—what would these be without the appreciative gasps of the audience on the mainland?

It is easy, the Spectator finds, to overdo this effort to get the scenery all to yourself. There was Kynance Cove. The tiresome journey to Lizardtown had consumed the morning. And when the Spectators, their eyes filled with the vision of silver sands, colored serpentine rocks, and pale green breakers running in to burst in drifts of shining foam, were told they must tear themselves away to go back by a four o'clock motor bus, they struck. Not they! A second bus left at seven. Alone they would remain and watch the tide come in, and climb the steepest and jaggedest of the cliffs, and insert their persons into inaccessible smugglers' caves, and bark all their salient bones on the too sharp edges of the rocks. All this they did, and more. They broke a record in Cornwall. Sixteen years has the little hostelry at the head of the cove been doing business. But cut sandwiches—no, *that* was a thing it never had done! The Spectators might have a loaf and the joint, as they were so very hungry, and cut sandwiches for themselves. A demand for sandwiches? Oh, yes, urgent for sixteen years! But that was a thing they never did. Well, seeing that the Spectators were Americans and not likely to trouble again— The upshot was that the Spectators followed the white stones of the coast-guard path along the cliffs, munching the only sandwiches ever cut in Kynance Cove.

Vastly well. But the seven o'clock bus was another story from the big one that brought the crowd out from Helston in the morning. The Spectators took their seats in the venerable ark—beyond doubt it was a lobster boat equipped with a motor—rejoicing. That was before they knew. The wretched thing thumped them over the road till they were four miles and a quarter from anywhere and the night as dark as a pocket. And then on a side hill it stood still, and pawed the ground, indulging in a species of epileptic fit most jarring to the nerves. Need one tell the rest—how it shrieked and roared and shook and didn't go, emitting all the while a gasoline stench powerful enough to have driven anything except a motor; how the passengers got out and stood in the dazzle of the headlights enacting a scene suggestive of highway robberies; how tall the hedges looked in the eerie glare and how the night winds moaned in the tree-tops; how folk coming home from market stopped to offer to send "a message for 'ee anywears;" how at last the "cussed thing"—the profanity is the chauffeur's—saw fit to start, and dragged into Helston one hour after the last train had pulled out for the night!

But four days! And nothing has been said of the Mousehole, most engaging of English fishing villages, nor of St. Ives, nor Gurnard's Head, nothing, in fact, of Penzance and St. Michael's Mount. Is it never worth while to "do" a region unless you can take time to do it thoroughly? The Spectator enthusiastically opines that it is.

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THE NEW BOOKS

A BOOK A WEEK

IF one is to keep anywhere within sight of the high-gear speed production of fiction, one must read, not one book a week, but about thirty; here, to illustrate, is an item from an English publishers' organ which says that last year in Great Britain alone there were put forth 1,358 new novels and 1,055 new editions of novels; what the American figures are we do not know, but certainly the last two or three weeks, following the usual post-holiday stagnation, have seen the appearance of over fifty novels, mostly in gay outer envelopes. One is inclined to cry, Heaven help the library committees and reviewers who are supposed to winnow the wheat from the chaff! Happily, there is a fair proportion of wheat—and as wheat may be classed those stories which deal truly with life and character and motive and which afford self-respecting entertainment. Three just-published English stories answer one or both of these requirements, and exemplify also three quite different views of humorous (not comic) fiction-writing.

Of Mr. James Stephens, the author of "The Crock of Gold" (Macmillan), we know only that two volumes of his verse have been praised for their directness and picture-making power, and also (a rare thing in recent verse-writing) for a quaint underlying humor. That last-named quality has had full swing in "The Crock of Gold." It is hard to say just why this fantastic story—some critic has dubbed it "Fancies, Fun, and Fairies"—excites one's humorous appreciation, but there is not the slightest question that it does just this thing. The book might almost be described as a literary frolic, but one with a background both of poetic fancy and solid sense. We have two singular old philosophers and their two extraordinary wives—the Gray Woman of Dun Gortin and the thin Woman of Inis Magrath; we have also a clan of Irish fairies or leprechauns; we have also a singular reappearance of the great god Pan in Ireland; and there are other queer people and strange happenings. One soon suspects that there is a sort of symbolism in the book, but very soon ceases to care whether there is or not, and gives himself over to enjoyment pure and simple. Whimsical is exactly the word for this delightful fantasia of men, gods, and fairies. Its fault on the side of thought-suggestion is that it has a little too much subtlety to reach a large audience.

As far removed as possible from the fantastic is the comedy of life in an English country town called "The Browns" (Doran). The author, J. E. Buckrose, is, we believe, a woman; certainly the woman characters of the book are the best. Readers of "Down Our Street" and other gentle but true stories by this writer will not expect to find here action or excitement or anything but a rudimentary plot. But the little side hits at human frailties are good-natured. Mrs. Brown is the tolerant and cheerfully unselfish mother of an impetuous "heroine" who has got her conscience into trouble by rashly destroying a spiteful will before the face of its maker. Mrs. Brown "suffers fools gladly," and she has not a few about her (mostly Browns) to tolerate. A few of the author's bits of social satire may indicate what is enjoyable in the book's unvenomous satire. Of one of the numerous Browns we are told that she had "that tame little conscience which is almost as fashionable as a tame little dog," a conscience which didn't resist long and could twist wrong into right, whereupon it would pat Miss Brown "on the spiritual back" for doing the wrong thing. Another lady is a fool, not because she was born one, but because she had "declined to exercise her mind until it was unable to move; it sat fatly in her skull as her body did upon the plush chair, and both were content." Another of what may be called the fool Browns is "that type of incompetent person who is so engaged in finding everybody else a fool that he fails to discover the fool in himself." When an amateur woman monologist, who is a terror by night, leaves the platform, "every one within earshot said she ought to have gone on the stage, and those a little further away that it was a painful performance." To another lady Mrs. Brown declares that she would have made a capital politician, adding mentally, "because you stick to your opinion, uninfluenced by rhyme or reason." But there is pleasant as well as satirical comment in the novel; the people may be commonplace, but their portraits are as good in their way as were the Leech drawings in "Punch" of old days.

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So we have a book not brilliant, but enjoyable and kindly of spirit.

The last of our three stories of humorous cast is Mr. G. A. Birmingham's "The Red Hand of Ulster" (Doran). He is an Irish clergyman, writing under a pseudonym—his real name and title are the Rev. James O. Hannay. Within a year or two, and in America as well as Great Britain, his stories ("Spanish Gold" is the best known) have been widely enjoyed. His humor is of the dry kind; his method is the sedate relation of total improbabilities in a perfectly convincing way. It would be absurd to compare him with Mark Twain, but at least it is true that both are imperturbable, both exaggerate with sober-sided extravagance, both say things that are funny because they are unexpected. There is more satire in this new book than in the others, but it is not ill-natured; and to write an amusing and good-tempered story about Irish politics (and the Ulster question above all things) is a notable achievement. The book is imaginative, not as "The Crock of Gold" is, but as some of the stories of De Foe or H. G. Wells are. It gravely follows out the insurrection of Ulster against Home Rule under the leadership of an American millionaire until we reach this exquisitely humorous ending: the Ulstermen are in fury because, although shots have been exchanged, the British Government refuses to fight them "seriously" or destroy their cities. Asked for their ultimatum, they demand that the English of Ireland clear out and "leave us to manage Ireland ourselves"—in other words, they ask for Home Rule of an extreme type!

Marie-Antoinette: Her Early Youth. By Lady Younghusband. The Macmillan Company, New York. $5.

In this volume Lady Younghusband treats of the four years 1770-1774. Her chief object, she says, is "to unravel a nebulous if highly attractive personality, and to replace by a human being the kind of lay figure which over-much indiscriminate reading had tended to produce." Use has been made of memoirs of the period, and of the elaborate historical study by French authors which in its original form occupies many times the space of this volume. Portraits of the subject of the book in her youth and other reproductions of old pictures and facsimiles add to the special interest. Lady Younghusband writes in an easy, unconventional manner, and makes an interesting narrative, besides adding appreciably to the not altogether harmonious conception of Marie Antoinette's personality which history and tradition have formed.

War Drama of the Eagles (The). By Edward Fraser. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $4.

A novel historical subject is here treated in a story-telling way. The book records the deeds of heroism of the French soldiers who carried the eagles of Napoleon's army through the great battles of his career, from Austerlitz to Waterloo.

English Scene in the Eighteenth Century (The). By E. S. Roscoe. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $2.75.

The author tries to give the reader the same mental impression of social conditions, fashions, industrial affairs, and society at large that an Englishman of the eighteenth century might have. For this purpose he takes an imaginary Englishman of the time through London to Bath on visits to a family of the middle class, to members of the nobility, to literary people, to clergymen, and even to a peasant's cottage. He describes with vividness and with broad but simple treatment what such an imaginary person might see; and aims to illustrate Sir Leslie Stephen's theory that too much value is placed on the minutiæ of history and not enough on a clear general view of the times and the people.

Essentials in Early European History. By Samuel Burnett Howe. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. $1.50.

This book is prepared by the author, who is a high school instructor, with the purpose of presenting in condensed and clearly arranged form, not only the outlines of history, but the trend of economic, political, and social advances, together with some reflections on the life and customs of the people. The period covered is from the earliest times down to the French and Indian War which ended in 1763. An excellent brief list of suggestions for simultaneous reading is offered.

Jocasta and the Famished Cat. By Anatole France. The John Lane Company, New York. $1.75.

This is an addition to the really beautiful edition of the works of Anatole France now appearing. This particular story was M. France's first work of fiction, and appeared some thirty-five years ago. It deals largely with peasant life, and if it has less drollery than some of the author's work, perhaps all the more it gets closer to human feeling.

Old Colonial System (The). By George L. Beer. The Macmillan Company, New York. 2 vols. $4.

We merely note here the appearance of this important historical work on early American Government. It covers the period from 1660

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to 1754, and deals with the islands to the south of the present United States as well as the colonies which afterwards were united under our own Government. Commerce, trade regulation, fiscal and financial methods, and the administrative machinery of the colonies are all treated generally and also specifically with reference to each colony.

Story-Telling in School and Home. By Emelyn N. Partridge and George E. Partridge. The Sturgis & Walton Company, New York. $1.50.

The two authors have been respectively "story-teller" for the Playgrounds and Bancroft School of Worcester, Massachusetts, and lecturer in Clark University. Teachers recognize nowadays that story-telling is an important part of school work; and parents should, and to some extent do, supplement the school story-telling in their own homes. Here have been put together many brief stories suitable for the purpose, together with talk about their origin; and there are also included practical suggestions as to the best way to employ this fascinating method of arousing children's imagination.

Stories by Mary and Jane Findlater: "Penny Monypenny," "Crossriggs," "Seven Scots Stories." E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $1.35 each.

The tales of Lowland Scottish life and character written by the Misses Findlater are not so well known in this country as they deserve to be. Without any attempt at passion or elaborate plot, there are to be found in the stories named above very sound study of character and social atmosphere, and also not a little of quiet humor of a gentle and unobtrusive kind. There is no dialect. The literary work of the Findlater sisters is true to life and shows close observation.

Quest of Glory (The). By Marjorie Bowen. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $1.35.

A historical novel which deals with France in the early part of the reign of Louis XV. The young soldier, who is the principal figure, later became a writer of philosophy, and was included in the group that numbered Voltaire, Rousseau, and Diderot—a group whose writings did much to arouse the new spirit of fraternity and democracy in France before the Revolution. Like the author's other historical novels, this is slow in action and development, and can only be classed as of mediocre ability. On the other hand, it is quite free from lurid writing and sensationalism.

Symbol and Satire in the French Revolution. By E. F. Henderson. With 171 Illustrations. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $4.

This handsome volume may be regarded as the history of the French Revolution told in contemporary symbolic illustration, with interpretative letterpress, or as a concise popular history of the French Revolution illustrated by contemporary symbolic illustration. The work supplements, or rather leads up to, the larger work by A. M. Broadley entitled "Napoleon in Caricature." It will surprise most readers to learn how large a part popular art, not wholly dissimilar from the newspaper political art of our own time, played in the stirring period of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic régime. The author has little sympathy for the revolutionists, even the more conservative among them, but even less, if possible, for the vacillating king and false queen whose treachery to the people was partly responsible for the frightful excesses of that tragic time.

Autobiography and Life of George Tyrrell. Arranged with Supplements by M. D. Petrie. In 2 vols. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. $6.

These two volumes, the first an autobiography, the second a memoir of one whose writings The Outlook has repeatedly noticed in recent years, are highly valuable both for their personal charm and for their story of struggle between the modern and the mediæval spirit. Tyrrell, naturally a good fighter but temperamentally peaceful, with a genius for friendship and a passion for truth, was born into the Anglican Church, but remained uninfluenced by it, and "gained his soul, spiritually and intellectually," in passing over into the Roman Catholic communion. He presently joined the Society of Jesus, "a Jesuit for the sake of the Church," says Miss Petrie, "and a Catholic for the sake of humanity." He says of himself, "It was not personal sanctity that attracted me to it [the Society of Jesus], but only its militant energy in the cause of Catholicism and Faith." But religion rather than theology was ever his supreme interest. His ideal of Catholicism as a religion whose bond between the Deity and humanity could satisfy man's highest aspirations was soon disenchanted in contact with the hard and fast limits of ecclesiastical system. He found himself suspected for his questionings, and presently silenced for his passion for truth. Expelled from the Society of Jesus in 1906 because of a private letter written to a friend, he was excommunicated in 1908 for publishing a criticism—for which he had good Catholic precedents—of the Pope's condemnation of Modernism in his encyclical, "Pascendi." Urged by Anglican clergymen to return to the Church of his baptism, he preferred to remain unchurched till his death in 1909. Steadfastly believing in Catholicism as the religion of the future, he continued laboring for his ideal with others, his fellow-sufferers under the ban, against the "Cæsarism" of Rome, and enjoying the sympathy of Catholic friends who had not outwardly broken with it. The correspondence and documents included in his memoir form an enlightening commentary on his aims, his conduct, and his publications. These volumes in their story of a well-fought fight present the great issue that is yet pending among Protestants as well as Roman Catholics—

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the freedom of religious faith to grow from form to form of theological statement and ecclesiastical organization with the growth of sound knowledge and of spiritual experience. Protestantism Tyrrell could not accept in any of its organized forms because of their partialism and "exaggerated individualism." But he stood stanchly for its underlying principle of the free intellect and conscience, unmastered by any arbitrary external commands. For this, as vital to a spiritual Catholicism, and to the Modernism of which he was the great protagonist among English-speaking Catholics, he was unflinchingly Protestant, and a reproof to many half-baked Protestants. In these soulful volumes Miss Petrie, his literary executor, reveals the sensitive, loving, deeply spiritual, and much-suffering man to many who have known him only as a brave and manly champion.

Wealth and Welfare. By A. C. Pigou, M.A. The Macmillan Company, New York. $3.25.

The new political economy was authoritatively introduced to English-speaking people by the Encyclopædia Britannica about forty years ago in its ethical character, contrasting with the former non-ethical treatment of this science. The present volume exhibits a great ethical development of it since that time, as well as an ampler and clearer view and critical treatment of the various factors of its complicated problem. The ethical problem, needless to say, is that of the just distribution of wealth to all producers of it. The ethical truth is that nothing less than this can result in welfare. "It is the chief task of ethics," as Professor Pigou teaches in his university chair at Cambridge, England, "to say whether, and in what way, particular things belong to welfare." Welfare, he tells us, consists in "states of consciousness" rather than in material things, for man does not live by bread alone, and economic welfare is only "a part of a part of welfare." Essential to it is a just distribution of "the national dividend." This, expressed in terms of money, includes "the net product of all the industries of the country along with the net products of the country's capital invested abroad." Thus has the growing science revolutionized the older theory of a "wage fund," to be distributed to labor as the dividend left it by rent and profits. Professor Pigou's main interest is for this long disinherited class of producers. What he wishes to show is how the magnitude of welfare "would be affected by the introduction of causes which it is in the power of statesmen or private persons to call into being." The elaborate analysis and severely critical examination given to the many elements, objective and subjective, of this problem, with the various methods and agencies, public and private, adopted or proposed for its solution, have produced a volume not to be read running, but for patient study. It is really "a book of statesmanship." Coming from a scientific economist of a country where the same general economic conditions to be ameliorated exist as here, and where more progress in dealing with them has been made than here, it is eminently needed by our many "untutored amateurs" in economic reform.

South America. By Harry Weston Van Dyke. The T. Y. Crowell Company, New York.

Path of the Conquistadores. By Linden Bates, Jr. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $3.50.

Flowing Road (The). By Caspar Whitney. The J. P. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. $3.

South America is an increasingly interesting subject. This is as it should be, and it is a satisfaction to note the appearance of three noteworthy books dealing with that country. Mr. Van Dyke's book is a general survey, and is valuable first of all to the reader who wants to get a broad view of present conditions. In the second place, the reader who wants to know about some one country in particular will find that country described in as much detail as is possible as to scenery, cities, people, social life, industry, commercial and economic aspects. In the third place, the business man with an eye to South American trade should find this a volume to his taste, for in it Mr. Van Dyke lays stress on the commercial relations between the two Americas. The forthcoming opening of the Panama Canal should have an enormous effect on those relations, as Mr. Barrett points out in his introduction to Mr. Van Dyke's book. The other two volumes have to do with special South American regions. Mr. Bates's book comprises a description of Great Britain's colony of Trinidad, the Orinoco River as far as Angostura, and the llanos or grassy fields of Venezuela, near the imagined location of the legendary city of Manoa. The work is very readable. Mr. Bates's style is vigorous and vivacious, and the physical, social, political, and commercial conditions of the regions he visits are vividly depicted. Mr. Whitney's volume is even more of an account of an adventure than is Mr. Bates's. Like it, it is extremely instructive as to a little-known though vaster region of the world. The adventure consists in the experiences of various river expeditions, largely made by canoe and chiefly on streams more or less connected—hence the significance of the book's title. The streams were the Rio Negro, the Orinoco, the Portuguesa, the Parana, Salada, and Feliciano. But there were saddle trips, too. They included a crossing of the llanos stretching between the Venezuelan mountains to the Orinoco, and of the llanos near Lake Maracaibo; a skirting of the Cordilleras east of Colombia; a crossing of the Andes into Chile; finally, a penetration of the pampas of Argentina and the forests of Brazil. Here is certainly suggested material enough to fill several books. One would think that the present

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volume would suffer by reason of condensation. But it does not. Mr. Whitney tells us about savage and little-known peoples; he tells us about the hunting of the beasts of the jungle; we also add to our scientific knowledge; finally, we learn something about the social and industrial conditions of the various countries. Mr. Whitney resents the overcolored accounts as to "the audacious multitude of snakes; the malignant perils of fever; and the beauty universal of the 'dark-eyed señoritas.'" He does not, however, go to the opposite extreme of finding all South American travel agreeable. As he says, "it depends on where you journey." Most readers will be surprised to hear that "you can ascend the Amazon, the Parana, the Magdalena, and the lower Orinoco . . . by excellent steamers," even if they are not surprised to hear that "in a sleeper from Buenos Aires on the Atlantic side you can cross the Andes through a tunnel to Valparaiso on the Pacific." But it is especially of the wilderness where the going is arduous and frequently dangerous that we are informed in the present volume. Perhaps there is no part of the world more unknown to the modern man. Yet during the century following the first landing of Columbus the boldest adventurers hastened thither, especially "those unexampled pioneers, the Jesuit Fathers, who, after one hundred and fifty years of beneficent labor among the Indians, were expelled by Spain because they dared to oppose slavery." As Mr. Whitney says, it is one of the extraordinary phases of history that so much of this vast continent should have fallen from the world's ken.

Under the Old Flag. By James Harrison Wilson. In 2 vols. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $6.

Grant's "Memoirs" is generally regarded as the most important work concerning the Civil War. But, since its publication, no similar work has appeared reflecting, so far as we know, a more independent judgment on the part of the writer, and giving greater information to the reader, than the memoirs of James Harrison Wilson. The author graduated from West Point near the top of his class, and quickly thereafter served on the coast as Chief Topographical Engineer; then as Assistant Engineer on McClellan's staff in the Antietam campaign; as Assistant Chief Engineer, later as Colonel and General, on Grant's staff at Vicksburg and Chattanooga; as Chief of the Cavalry Bureau at Washington; as Commander of a Cavalry Division under Sheridan, as Chief of a Cavalry Corps under Thomas, and as the head of an army of fourteen thousand troops when he defeated Forrest and captured Jefferson Davis. General Wilson's impressions of the war are thus a young man's impressions, vivid and untrammeled. In these pages we find a graphic quality and a freedom of criticism which make them the more attractive. But they are discriminating too. Perhaps not regarding Thomas, who was indeed a particularly admirable character. Under him General Wilson had a chance to win his most important spurs. The resultant fierce loyalty of the young man to his leader is vividly reflected in the present work, as, for instance, in the account of the somewhat strained relations between Thomas and Grant, in which General Wilson takes Thomas's side. If some may deem the author not too discriminating with regard to Thomas, they will not thus criticise him in his estimate of other men. Grant, for instance, was "saner and safer" than Sherman. But Sherman was in some things "much more brilliant" than Grant. More drastic criticisms are applied to Sheridan, whose failure to obey the repeated orders of General Meade to go to Wilson's relief in 1864 the author condemns, as might be expected. With regard to other leaders we think first of all of Lee. As there have been so many very independent criticisms of military men in these volumes, perhaps the ordinary reader may not gasp as he might have done as he reads General Wilson's judgment, namely, that Scott was "fully Lee's equal as a soldier and far greater than Lee as a patriot." The author instances Scott's Mexican campaign "as a performance of the first rank," and adds: "That is more than can be said of Lee's best campaign." Seven-eighths of the work is devoted to the Civil War. After reading General Wilson's account of it the reader's interest in what follows—a description of the Spanish War and of the Boxer Rebellion in China—will hardly be as keen. Yet these pages should be read also. They are characterized by an equal independence of judgment, though not every reader may agree with the author's conclusions.

Dragoman (The). By George K. Stiles. Harper & Brothers, New York. $1.25.

A sensational story of the Upper Nile, in which an American girl and a young Englishman who disguises himself as an Arab go through romantic and dangerous adventures. These hold the reader's attention, although they do not convince his reason of their probability.

The Shadow. By Arthur Stringer. The Century Company, New York. $1.25.

The story of the pursuit of a criminal of extraordinary astuteness. The dogged, brutal, pertinacious New York police official follows false clues and true clues for months and even years. In China, South America, and our Far West he has adventures of a thrilling kind, and over and over again barely escapes with his life. Mr. Stringer incidentally gives a graphic account of New York police methods, good and bad.

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THE READER'S VIEW

THE QUESTION OF A STRONG NAVY

Your answer to the letter of Lucia Ames Mead in your issue of January 18 is fair and conclusive, but I should like to suggest to you and to her an additional consideration which seems to be overlooked by most, if not all, of those who urge disarmament as a means of promoting international peace. It is this: So long as any one great power is armed for war, other powers must keep up an armament or invite attack and defeat. The *logical* order of progression towards general peace must be, *first*, international agreement not to settle differences by war; *second*, disarmament. This order tends towards peace; the reverse order tends towards war upon the disarmed and to national suicide. The war with Spain, justly considered a moral necessity for the United States, would never have occurred if our navy in 1898 had been as large as it is now, and Cuba would have been made free on our demand without the shedding of blood.

A. F. TENNEY.

Pelham Manor, New York.

WHAT IS AN "ADEQUATE" NAVY?

1. Please give space for important facts omitted from my letter to which you rejoined on January 18. You said: "It is a common sophistry to say that it is wrong to spend money on one thing because money ought to be spent on another. If an adequate navy is wrong, let us refuse to have one; if it is right and desirable, let us have it and also fight disease, corruption, etc." No one questions that the navy and everything else should be adequate, that is, sufficient for our needs; but, as I omitted to say previously, our Government is spending forty-three per cent of our National expenditure in preparing for future war, while Great Britain's per cent is thirty-four, and that of all other nations but Germany is less. Considering this fact and our slight danger, I hold that our per cent is far beyond what is adequate for defense. 2. As to your other point—maintaining our present outgo and doing more to fight dangers within—these cannot both be done simultaneously without doubling taxation. It is a question of *either, or*, not of *both*. When we vote $15,000,000 for one short-lived superdreadnought, what wonder that the total amount paid by Nation, States, and cities to eradicate the white plague which kills 130,000 annually is no more than the same amount?

LUCIA AMES MEAD.

Boston, Massachusetts.

[1. Without positively disputing our correspondent's statistics, we may say that unless Panama Canal construction, river and harbor improvements, and some other millions even less correctly to be classed wholly as preparations for future war are included, the statistics differ widely from those presented in "The American Year Book's" figures taken from United States Statistical Abstracts. We should be glad to know of what items the forty-three per cent is composed. 2. We continue to believe that the people of this country can afford to maintain an adequate navy and also to fight disease and crime. They cannot afford not to do both.—THE EDITORS.]

THE EFFICIENCY OF A DEMOCRACY

It was with much interest that I read your editorial in the number of December 28 on Government Ownership of Railways, and especially as I had read Mr. Winchell's interesting article in the "Atlantic Monthly."

I would refer especially to the latter portion of your editorial, where you disagree with Mr. Winchell's main contention, namely, "that Germany and France are much more competent to run state-directed industrial enterprises than America, because a democratic government is a very bad form for managing large industrial concerns." You ask "if the post-office is not a large industrial concern, and whether it is conceivable that a private corporation could possibly carry the mails as efficiently and with service as satisfactory to a hundred million consumers as the post-office, with all its defects, actually does carry them."

Is this argument not a *non sequitur?* Mr. Winchell's comparison is between Germany and France as bureaucratic governments on the one hand, and the United States as a democratic government on the other hand. Your argument is as between government ownership in the United States on the one hand, and private ownership in the United States on the other hand—a question that was not under discussion for the moment. Had you compared the scope of operations and the efficiency of the management of the post-office in the United States with the scope of operations and the efficiency of the management of the post-office in Germany, your reasoning, it seems to me, would have been sounder, even though your conclusions may have been the same—though of course this is quite a large question.

New York City. GERARD SWOPE.

[If Mr. Winchell's paper in the "Atlantic Monthly" had been written to advocate the administrative advantages of an autocratic or bureaucratic government in comparison with a democratic government, we agree that we should have been open to the criticism of employing a *non sequitur*. It may be that Germany and France are more competent to run state-directed industrial enterprises than America. The same

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reasoning, however, would permit the statement that the Germans and possibly the French are more competent to run privately managed industrial enterprises than Americans. The Outlook is in hearty sympathy with Mr. Winchell's general point of view, that, in the present stage of social and governmental development in this country, our railway transportation system can be conducted more advantageously by private enterprise under effective Government regulation than by Government ownership. We do, however, believe—and this is the point we endeavored to make—that a democracy with proper education and proper laws has all the capacity for administration that an autocracy possesses. For example, the United States navy, in the judgment of naval experts, is quite as efficient to-day in seamanship, gunnery, and naval tactics as any European navy.—THE EDITORS.]

TRADITION OR HEALTH—WHICH?

Parents, and not teachers, must determine whether children shall study at home. Teachers decided the question some time ago. Ever since Darwin emphasized the biological part of man's nature, ever since Froebel taught that we are not to consider children as little men and women, our schools of education have consistently pleaded with their graduates not to dismantle the body while they improve the mind. And yet it is necessary for the "Ladies' Home Journal" to open the civilized year of 1913 with two successive articles against the requirement of home study. Parents ought to know why this is so. Thoughtful mothers who sit helplessly by while outrageous arithmetic problems rob their growing children of play, and nervous energy, and sleep itself, demand to know.

And in answer to such inquiries the teaching profession replies in the words of Nathan the prophet, "Thou art the man." Teachers are public servants. What the public demands, the public must have.

It is traditional to turn the home into a study room after supper. Tradition puts nervous girls of twelve and imaginative boys of eleven sternly to work about the center-table of the living-room, while mother washes the dishes and father reads the paper. And yet parents are not altogether thoughtless in this. Some believe it is a necessary evil because teachers consent to it. Others tolerate it for fear some other children will outstrip their own, and pray that natural law may wink at this violation of nature's ordinances in the interest of competition.

The public must deal with two classes of teachers. The first class consists of those who have long felt that grade children can and ought to be enabled to complete their morrow's lessons in the school-room, but have feared that, if no lessons were sent to be done at home, complaint would arise over such easy teaching. This is no imaginary condition. The writer, when principal of a public school, has had more than one parent suggest that Miss A or Miss B must be doing very superficial work because no lessons were sent home to be mastered of an evening. Such teachers will reform their tactics just as soon as the public will let them.

The second class of teachers also know better than to send a pre-adolescent child to an evening of study. But they have hidden their best judgment in a hay-pile of habit. It is easier to let the children drift through the day and study at home than it is to economize time, direct every effort, and guide the preparation of every lesson. And as long as the parents have no objection, what's the use of worrying over the neurology of education—a study which was passed way back in college days with a creditable standing?

There is no doubt of the ability of grade teachers to avoid home study when they work under reasonable conditions, *and try*. Many of our best schools have avoided it *ab urbe condita*—since the beginning of things. This problem has been discussed too exclusively by pedagogical journals. It must be solved ultimately by those who never read them. It must make its appeal to the whole people.

ALVAH T. OTIS.
Wesleyan Seminary, Genesee, New York.

SNAKES AND WOOD DUCKS

In reading the Spectator's notes about trees (The Outlook for January 4) I notice his statement about the birch tree and the blacksnake. I could probably furnish the Spectator some information in regard to the way the snake reached the ground from the tree. Some forty years ago, I was riding to a country village in company with a neighbor, and in passing through some timber in front of a residence where all the undergrowth had been taken out and a number of large oak trees were standing, we noticed a great commotion among the birds in the large timber. They were blue jays, and there were more collecting. Scanning the trees closely, we found that they were fighting a large snake, known in that country as a chicken-snake. We waited a while to see the result of the battle between the birds and the snake. The birds' nest and the snake were out on a limb about twenty feet from the main part of the tree, at least sixty feet from the ground. The birds settled on him so fast that he turned loose his hold on the tree and fell to the ground with a thump that could have been heard some distance; he was not even stunned by the fall, but made off immediately to get to a fence; he had a young bird in his mouth that was just beginning to feather; I secured a fence stake and struck him across the back, his mouth flew open, and the little bird hopped away. The

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birds had picked the snake's back until he was bleeding in probably a dozen places.

Neither the bird nor the snake seemed any the worse for the fall.

In the same article the Spectator speaks of the nesting of the wood duck. I can state also my experience, when a boy about eleven years of age, of the way the wood duck carried her young from her nest to the water. I was fishing, in company with a cousin, on the Hatchie River, where the undergrowth was close to the water. We heard something dash into the water, and, looking up, we saw a wood duck, with a young one swimming by her side; she immediately flew away and returned directly with another small duck and deposited it beside the first. Following the direction that she flew, we came to a large pond, only about two hundred yards away, where the cypress and other timber grew very large. We saw her go into a hollow limb that had been broken off, and come out with a little duck in her mouth; she was holding him by the back of his neck. She flew away with him and again returned for another. We returned to the river bank and found the little ones hovering together under the brush, where they remained until she gathered nine, when she swam down the river, accompanied by the little ducks.

I am in my eighty-second year, but these occurrences made an impression that I have never forgotten. J. L. M.

Cleveland, Oklahoma.

PANAMA CANAL TOLLS: ARBITRATION ILLOGICAL

In his formal demand upon the Government of the United States to repeal the Act of Congress granting free passage through the Panama Canal to American ships engaged in coastwise trade, or to submit the matter to arbitration, Sir Edward Grey stated that the stipulation in the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty "that the toll shall be just and equitable, when rightly understood, entitled his Majesty's Government to demand on behalf of British shipping that all vessels passing through the Canal, whatever their flag or their character, shall be taken into account in fixing the amount of tolls." Briefly stated, the British Government demands that the toll be fixed by dividing the sum to be raised annually by the total amount of shipping that uses the Canal during the year. This is a most reasonable demand. Let us see what the charges will be if we accede to it.

Professor Emory R. Johnson, the Special Commissioner on Panama Canal Traffic and Tolls, has stated that a yearly revenue of $19,250,000 will be required to enable the United States to operate and maintain the Canal, govern the Canal Zone, pay the Panama annuity of $250,000, pay interest on the Canal investment, and set aside an amortization fund of one per cent per annum. Professor Johnson estimates that there will be at least 10,500,000 net tons of shipping passing through the Canal in the year 1915, and that the traffic will have increased to 17,000,000 net register tons by the year 1925.

If we assume that 11,000,000 net register tons will pass through the Canal in the year 1915, and that the traffic will increase annually by 600,000 tons, so that it shall amount to 17,000,000 tons in the year 1925, the charges for the year 1915 will be $1.75 per ton; for 1916, $1.66; for 1920, $1.37½; for 1923, $1.22; for 1925, $1.13.

The Panama Canal Law fixed the maximum toll at $1.25 per ton and the minimum toll at 75 cents per ton; within these limits the regulation of rates is left in the hands of the President. Mr. Taft has fixed the toll at $1.20 per ton. At this rate the deficit for the year 1915 will amount to $6,050,000; for the period from 1915 to 1926 the deficit will be $26,950,000. If American coastwise shipping pays no tolls, this deficit will be much larger. As the rates are now fixed, the American Government not only pays the tolls on its coastwise shipping, but it also pays a part of the just toll on every other vessel that uses the Canal.

Those who criticise the Panama Canal Law assume, without inquiry, that President Taft has fixed the rate so that foreign shipping and American shipping engaged in the foreign trade shall pay the entire $19,250,000. In view of the actual facts in the case it is difficult to see just what is to be arbitrated. The British protest practically acknowledges our right to exempt all American shipping from the payment of tolls so long as all vessels passing through the Canal are taken into account in fixing the tolls. There would probably have been no protest if the Canal Act had contained this requirement, or if the President in his proclamation fixing the tolls had embodied the same idea in some form. The soothing language did not appear either in the Act or in the Proclamation, because Congress had determined to fix the maximum rate far below what the rate would be for many years yet to come if it were determined by the total volume of traffic.

The question of reducing the toll below $1.20 per ton will not arise until the volume of traffic shall exceed 16,041,666 tons per annum. This will occur about the year 1923, if Professor Johnson's estimates hold good. At any rate, the question will not arise during the administration of Mr. Wilson, even if he is re-elected. Nothing that President Taft or President Wilson could say could absolutely bind the unknown man who may be President in 1923; nor can Congress pass any resolution or law which may not be repealed or annulled by a future Congress; but it seems that a clear diplomatic statement of the principles that have governed Congress and the President in fixing the rates should reassure the British Govern-

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ment with regard to the future. Our future conduct should be judged by our past acts, which are unimpeachable.

It is interesting and instructive to consider a few facts in regard to the Suez Canal. In 1873 the tariff for passage through this canal was fixed at 10 francs per net register ton, with a surtax of 4 francs per ton, or a total of $2.70 per ton. This was reduced to $1.93 in 1884, to $1.83 in 1885, to $1.50 in 1906, to $1.40 in 1911, to $1.30 in 1912, and finally to $1.21 (6.25 francs) on January 1, 1913. For passengers the dues have always been maintained at ten francs, or $1.93 per head. The expenditures of the Company up to the end of the year 1869, when the Canal was opened, were 432,807,882 francs, to which should be added 100,000,000 francs obtained later to widen and deepen the Canal. Thus the cost of the Suez Canal may be placed at 532,807,882 francs, or $102,891,921.

The Panama Canal will cost $375,000,000. Beginning on January 1, 1913, the United States is required to pay $250,000 annually to Panama, a sum equal to the annual interest on $8,333,333 at three per cent. The toll has been fixed at one cent per ton lower than the Suez rates, and no charge is to be made for passengers. The charge for ships in ballast is somewhat lower than the Suez rate. It is expected that the Panama Canal will have almost 60 per cent of the traffic of the Suez Canal, while the cost of maintenance and operation will be much greater.

The Suez Company is limited to a 25 per cent "profit" by an agreement which British ship-owners forced upon it in November, 1883, by threatening to build a rival canal. In 1875 England bought 176,602 shares of Suez stock, for which she paid $19,326,188. The par value of this stock is $17,042,093. For the year ending March 31, 1910, she received $6,166,897.74 for "interest on Suez Canal shares, etc.," if I may use the language of the "Statesman's Year-Book." When we compare these profits with the Panama Canal deficits, our humble talk about amortization, and arbitration, and loss of National honor if we do not arbitrate, is illogical.

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NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL

In commenting upon the "Arbitration" article contributed by Mr. Roosevelt to The Outlook for January 18, 1913, you said: "But it is not possible to refer all international questions to an international court." Then you added in support of your contention that "The American colonies could not have left to an international court whether they should be free and independent, nor to determine the question whether the United States should remain a united Nation or should be divided into two Confederacies." Possibly not—but what have such matters to do with an "international" court? It seems to me that if a nation ever had anything strictly national, the instances you used were such. Being national, they would not have been, nor would subsequent affairs of the kind ever be, referred to an international court, no matter if it be composed of every nation on the globe.

Let us be careful, Oh Outlook, that we do not become users of "counterfeit logic," which Abraham Lincoln so much despised and so frequently denounced.

W. H. WATLINGTON.
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[Our correspondent takes one sentence from a long paragraph in support of his criticism that we have confused nationalism with internationalism. What we said was this:

> It is evident that in the present stage of civilization it is not possible to refer all international questions to such an international court. The American colonies could not have left an international court to determine whether they should be free and independent, nor the American Nation an international court to decide whether Great Britain should exercise the right of search, nor to determine the question whether the United States should remain a united Nation or should be divided into two Confederacies. Nor could the Italians refer to such a court the question whether they should remain under the intolerable Bourbon; nor the Balkans whether they should remain under the intolerable rule of the Turk.

The question of American independence in 1776, because the vital interests of France were involved, had at least an international aspect. The contest with Great Britain in 1814 as to the right of search and the Italian and Balkan questions are clearly international. We admit that the question of disunion in 1860 did not so clearly have an international bearing, but if the history of the contest over the alleged right of secession is reviewed, it will be recalled that there was a large party in England which did regard it as an international question because the North blocked the Southern ports and therefore cut off the English cotton trade from its supply of raw cotton. It was on this very ground that a strong party in England advocated the recognition of the Southern States. As a matter of fact we think this analogy fits the Panama case better than the others. A party in England today advocates arbitration of the Panama Canal tolls because the exemption of American coastwise vessels interferes with Canadian trade. In 1860 to 1865 a party in Great Britain claimed or attempted to claim that the United States Government must not force the seceding States back into the Union because that application of force was destroying their cotton trade.—THE EDITORS.]

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BY THE WAY

A photograph in a daily paper shows the "funeral" of the last horse-drawn omnibus in Paris. Crowded inside and out, hung with wreaths sent by the automobile factories, and accompanied by new motor buses weeping crocodile tears of silver paper, the horse-drawn bus was started on its last journey in the presence of 3,000 people. Its motor supplanters, strange to say, are without outside seats. How can one see Paris except from the top of a bus!

Michael Angelo McGinnis, mathematician and also, alas! forger, has been paroled from the Missouri penitentiary by Governor Hadley. He was serving a ten years' sentence. His attainments in the higher mathematics are declared to be such that his liberty is called for in the interests of science. One educator says: "I have never known a man who can solve numerical equations of high degree with the facility displayed by Mr. McGinnis."

American art is gaining appreciation in the eyes of the collectors, if the auction sale may be taken as a criterion. At the recent McMillin sale a painting by George Inness, "Tenafly, Autumn," sold for $16,500, which is said to be the record price at an auction for an American picture.

To aid travelers in recovering lost baggage, every German railway station is to be supplied with a book containing photographs of all kinds of trunks, handbags, etc. Each picture has a number. The traveler who has lost his baggage looks through the book, finds the picture which represents the missing piece, and its number is telegraphed to the various stations. With foreigners especially, this system will, it is expected, prove a great help in recovering missing articles.

To "marry in haste and repent at leisure" is a saw so old as to be almost unquotable, and yet such is its truth that Judge Goodnow, in the "Ladies' Home Journal," declares, out of an experience with more than 6,000 unhappy married folks, that the chief cause of marital unhappiness is the hasty manner in which marriage is entered upon. A law requiring thirty days' notice in advance of the marriage ceremony is advocated by the "Journal."

Detaille, the French military painter, desired, like the English artist Turner, that his country should possess his paintings, and such of his pictures as he possessed at the time of his death are to become public property. His house, containing his collection of uniforms, weapons, etc., is to be devoted to the purposes of a museum.

A million-dollar theater was recently opened in New York City, on Avenue B, corner of Fifth Street. As this is in the heart of the East Side, the explanation may be in order that the theater is built on the site of the tenement-house in which, forty years ago, the owner of this theater and of eighteen other theaters in New York City, Mr. Marcus Loew, was born.

Commenting on the statement of General Cuniberti, Director of Naval Construction in Italy, that projectiles are now more efficient than armor protection, "Shipping Illustrated" says: "Let us abandon this useless weight [of armor on warships]; and as the armor-clad man-at-arms gave place to the lightly equipped infantry soldier on the land, so will the cumbrous armored ship of the present day be replaced by an unarmored vessel of enormous speed," with heavy batteries.

Ford's Theater in Washington, in which President Lincoln was shot, and which nearly thirty years after was the scene of another tragedy in which twenty-two Government employees lost their lives, is to be torn down, having been condemned by the Economy and Efficiency Commission.

Marine disasters were distressingly frequent in January. "Lloyd's" is reported to have had severer losses on January 17 than on any other day in many years—always with the exception of that black day in April last when the Titanic foundered.

A part of Prospect Park, Brooklyn, is familiarly known as "Battle Pass," in memory of the Battle of Long Island, fought between the British and Americans in 1776. Recently an old oak was cut down in this part of the Park in which several grape-shot were found embedded; other trees in this vicinity have from time to time been found to hold numerous mementoes of the same kind, showing that the traditional name of the locality is well deserved.

Under the heading "Soft Answers to Hard Questions" the "Railway Age Gazette" says that the advice of the railways to their employees to be courteous is not always easy to follow. When the employee is asked questions the replies to which, if truthful, would reflect on the road, what is he to do? "Giving soft answers," the Gazette concludes, "is a great art," and a man must be wise as well as gentle to be proficient in it.

It was an ingenious man who devised the finger-print system of identification; he has now met his match in the burglar who the other day, after blowing open a safe, thoroughly washed its steel-bound sides to efface the tell-tale finger-marks.

A real estate man who has an eye for beauty tells us, in a pamphlet issued by the American Civic Association, how he was converted to a faith in the city beautiful and what his first work of righteousness was. "I attended a lecture," he says, "by the President of the Park Board of Kansas City, and was so deeply impressed by his remarks that the next day I ordered all my sales offices moved back one hundred feet farther from the street, for the creation of space for more shrubbery and flowers."

"One of the most striking of recent changes in the character of Englishwomen," says the "Queen," of London, "is their attitude towards outdoor sports. . . . Hunting (on horseback or afoot), fishing (on the deep sea or by the placid stream), shooting (whether wild animals in Africa or ground game at home), walking, cycling, driving, motoring, playing games—in short, practically every form of open-air sport, is now enjoyed by women on equal terms with men."

The late Albert K. Smiley left his property at Lake Mohonk to his half-brother, Daniel Smiley, who is expected to continue the conferences that have made Lake Mohonk a center for enlightening discussion of many important national and international problems.

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